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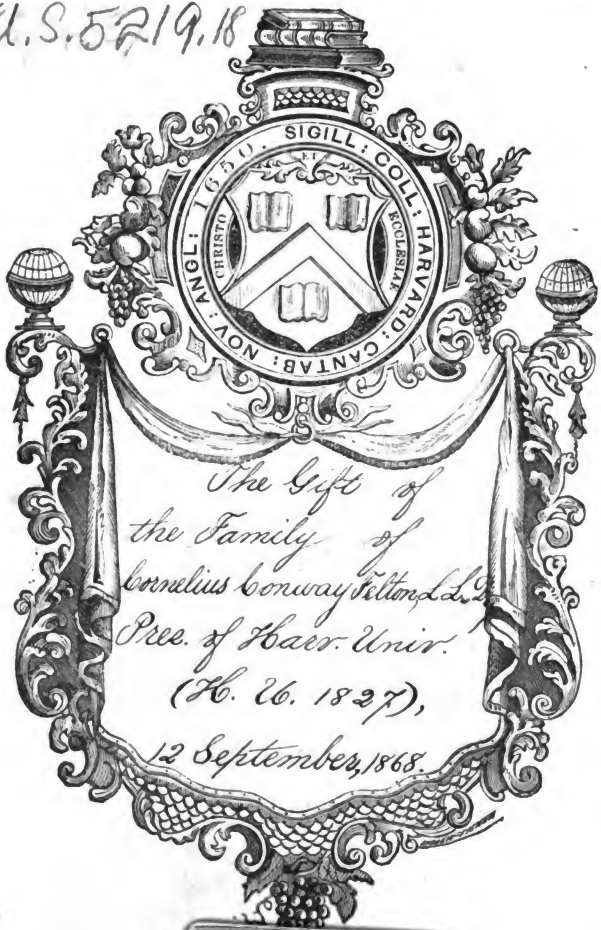

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THE LIFE,

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MILITARY AND CIVIC SERVICES

OF

LIEUT.-GEN. WINFIELD SCOTT.

COMPLETE UP TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

BY O. J. VICTOR,
AUTHOR OF LIVES OF "GARIBALDI," "ANTHONY WAYNE," ETC.

BEADLE AND COMPANY,
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INTRODUCTORY.

No commander of modern times—Napoleon and Wellington excepted—has excited more attention than Winfield Scott. From his first appearance on the field, in the War of 1812, up to the present moment, he has played an important part in our public affairs, civil and military. He has, for many years, been the commanding head of our army establishment, and, as such, has won the entire confidence of a spirited but exacting nation by the splendor of his military genius and his virtues of head and heart. From May, 1808, up to the present moment he has been in constant service—a term scarcely paralleled for length of time, certainly not exceeded in the importance of its varied and momentous trusts. He has brought glory to American arms, peace to our firesides, skill and efficiency to the entire military establishment: he has negotiated treaties, enforced obedience to the laws, arbitrated and adjusted national differences, and contributed immensely to the *prestige* for power and resources which our "republican experiment" has won in the eyes of the civilized world: he has largely contributed to the success of our international polity by his profound knowledge of international law, the clearness of his judgment, the decision of his action: he has been the recipient of public ovations and honors awarded only to the truly great men of earth. It would be remarkable, therefore, if, as his age increases and his life approaches to its close, his countrymen did not take the deepest interest in the record of his past, as well as bestow the most absorbing attention upon those future services which he may be spared to render.

The data for a correct record is not wanting. The general

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history of the country for the past fifty years—the history of special campaigns, and services—Armstrong's Notices of the War of 1812—the well-written Biography, by Edward D. Mansfield—the same author's History of the Mexican War—Brantz Mayer's work on the same theme—Colonel Ripley's History—Lieutenant Smith's Memoirs—Scott's own Correspondence and Reports—the American State Papers—all supply material for a thoroughly satisfactory biography. The aim will be to tell the story in comprehensive form, of the entire life and services of the illustrious subject, with unpartisan spirit and unbiased judgment—to produce such a volume as will commend itself to all classes for its authenticity, thoroughness and general interest of narrative.

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THE LIFE OF

WINFIELD SCOTT.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH—EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION—STUDIES LAW, AND PRACTICES—STATE OF THE COUNTRY IN 1807-8—THE WAR SPIRIT—SCOTT CAPTAIN OF LIGHT ARTILLERY—DETAILED TO LOUISIANA—THE TROUBLE WITH GENERAL WILKINSON, AND COURT-MARTIAL—ITS GOOD RESULTS.

VIRGINIA, "Mother of Presidents," is also mother of many a civilian and commander distinguished in the history of the United States. One of her most illustrious sons is Winfield Scott, born near Petersburg, June 13th, 1786. His father, William Scott, descended of Scotch parentage on the male side, married Ann Mason, a lady of well known family, having by her two sons and several daughters. The elder son was James; the younger, Winfield. The father died in 1791, leaving the mother in possession of a good estate. Ann Mason was a mother to rear noble sons, and lived long enough to give cast to the character of her children. She died in 1803. Winfield, though but seventeen years of age at that unhappy event, was much of a man in his judgment and general deportment, owing to the admirable training of his parent, whom he loved deeply. He was spirited, ambitious, resolute, yet full of kindness, love and generosity. All admired him for his good qualities, while the discriminating prophesied fair things for his future.

His early education had been prosecuted at home with a view to his ultimately entering the legal profession. After the decease of Mrs. Scott, he spent one year at Richmond, under the care of Dr. Ogilvie, of well known fame in that city. From thence he went to William and Mary College, where he remained for some time—making a special study of

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law. Leaving college, he entered the law office of David Robertson,* Richmond, a most valued preceptor, who had, at an earlier day, acted as tutor in the family of Mr. Mason. He took great pains with his pupil, and, being a learned man, succeeded in giving to Winfield's mind a store of rare attainments, not only in law but in history, economy and politics. Much of Scott's after proficiency in the mastery of international law and jurisprudence came of the method of his Scotch preceptor.

Admitted to practice in 1806, Scott "rode the circuit" for two terms, in the Petersburg district—spending all the intervals in the office of Benjamin W. Leigh, a leading and influential lawyer, from whom he derived great benefits of advice and instruction. The prospect for advancement in his profession induced the young lawyer, however, to give up his Virginia residence for one in South Carolina—to which State he emigrated in the fall of 1807, designing to open an office in Charleston. One year's residence in the State, however, was required by statute regulation before a permit for practice could be granted. To obviate this loss of precious time a journey was made to Columbia, where the legislature was then in session. A special exemption was asked for, and a bill to that effect was introduced, but failed, for want of time, in the Upper House. This disappointment, without doubt, gave Winfield Scott to his country. Upon such small events do great results sometimes hang. Failing to procure the necessary exemption, he returned to Virginia, where he soon was hurried, by his patriotic ardor, into the service of the United States, then on the brink of a war with foreign powers.

Both England and France committed such outrages on the commerce of this country, during the first decade of this century, as to raise up a powerful spirit of resistance, particularly along the seaboard. War seemed the only remedy for the aggravated evils arising from the refusal of the powers named to recognize the rights and the claims of the United States to the *status* of a first-class power. In view of this

* Better known as the reporter of the entire proceedings of the arraignment and trial of Aaron Burr, at Richmond—one of the most celebrated trials ever held in this country—as great, in its way, as the memorable trial for impeachment of Warren Hastings, in England.

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the martial sentiment of the States soon called into the field numerous troops. The Embargo act passed at the close of the year 1807—the act of non-intercourse in March, 1808. Both of these measures were preliminary to a state of declared hostilities. In the spring of 1808 the Increase of the Army Bill became a law; and Scott obtained the commission of Captain of light artillery. His soul was alive to the wrongs and indignities heaped upon his countrymen by foreigners, and he resolved to embark, with all his energy, in the cause of righting the wrong. In the summer of 1807 he had volunteered in a troop of horse called out by presidential proclamation to close the harbors of the country against British vessels of war, but did not enter the regular service until commissioned, as above stated.

The declaration of war did not immediately follow the belligerent attitude assumed by this Government. Mr. Madison, then President, was opposed to war, except as a last resort; and, as a consequence, his temporizing policy served to aggravate the injuries which special pleading with tyranny and ministerial assumption failed to correct. Then, as always, it was learned that to temporize with wrong was to weaken the cause of right; but, so potent was the peace or submission party, that it took all the vehement eloquence of a Clay or a Calhoun to carry the spirit of resistance eventually into an open declaration of war.* Scott, as a Democrat and Jeffersonian, was for war from his first enlistment as volunteer. He supported, with his pen and speech, the measures of resistance, and, by his ardor and patriotism, enkindled the fire of military enthusiasm in the bosoms of hundreds of his young countrymen.

Pending the prosecution of negotiations for an adjustment of our difficulties with Great Britain and France (1808—1812) little active service was required of the army. In 1809 Scott, with his company of Virginians, was ordered to join the army under command of General Wilkinson, in Louisiana. This officer had played a somewhat conspicuous *rôle* in the affair of Aaron Burr—acting, as many declared, the part of a Janus. At the trial of Burr, at Richmond, Scott had been present, and

* The act declaring war against Great Britain, her dependencies and commerce, was passed June 18th, 1812.

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there formed a very unpleasant impression regarding Wilkinson's integrity and soldierly qualities. This impression he carried with him to New Orleans, and soon became convinced that the commander was unworthy of his station. His own nature forbade concealment of his feelings; and Wilkinson soon learned not only to distrust his ability to command such a spirit as that of Scott, but to hate the young Captain with all the force of his illy-trained passions. The Southern army became so demoralized under the General's administration, that, in the winter of 1809–10 he was superseded by General Hampton. Captain Scott so freely expressed his opinions of the deposed General, that Wilkinson tarried long enough at camp, after his suspension, to institute court-martial proceedings against the offending party. The court was called at the camp near Natchez, in January (1810). Two charges were preferred: first, that of withholding money from his men placed in his hands for their services; and, second, unofficer-like conduct in using language disrespectful toward his superior. To these two specifications Scott replied by denying the first unconditionally, but acknowledged the second and plead justification. The finding of the court was, a dismissal of the first charge as untenable; but the inexorable Sixth Article of War came down upon him, by his own acknowledgments:—no matter what the justification, the act of disrespect was not mitigated; and Scott was convicted, accordingly, to suspension from rank, pay and emoluments for one year. This judgment, technically procured, did not injure the young Captain in the eyes of the army or of the people. A complimentary dinner was given him by his brother soldiers and civilians, prior to his return home, and the good wishes of all followed him in his *exile*, as the officers humorously termed his sentence.

That year of retirement was one of great profit to him, having been spent chiefly at the hospitable home of his friend, Mr. Leigh (before referred to), in the study of military authorities. Scott made himself thoroughly familiar with the theory and discipline of war, in all branches of the service; and there laid the basis for that well known system which is embodied in his most admirable Military Institutes and Army Manual.

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CHAPTER II.

THE NIAGARA CAMPAIGN — SCOTT COMMISSIONED LIEUTENANT-COLONEL — COMMANDS AT BLACK ROCK—GALLANT SEIZURE OF THE TWO BRIGS—THE MOVEMENT OF VAN RENSSELAER ON QUEENSTOWN—SCOTT ENLISTS—THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN HEIGHTS—ITS HONORS AND DISHONORS—THE AMERICANS OVERPOWERED—SCOTT A PRISONER—LOSSES.

THE war of 1812 was, at length, inaugurated. The insolent aggressions of England rendered longer temporizing base cowardice. The peace party had to give way before the anathemas of the Democrats led by Clay and Calhoun. Outrages against American citizens by "His Britannic Majesty's" agents, who boarded American vessels and impressed our seamen,* threw into the background the popular indignation against Napoleon for his immense seizure and confiscations of American property in the ports of the continent. War was, therefore, declared against Great Britain. That declaration served to render Napoleon our ally, though America disdained to receive any direct aid from French hands, as in 1778.

Scott was called to the field in July 1812, commissioned as Lieutenant-Colonel of artillery, (Second, Izard's regiment). With the artillery, Towson and Barker's companies, he moved on to the frontier at Niagara river. Previous to the opening of the campaign on the Niagara, General Hull's surrender of Detroit had taken place (August 14th). An army of 1800 men, composed in part of veterans of the Indian war, crossed the river at Detroit for the invasion of Canada (July 12th). Government had resolved to strike the enemy on his own soil and make the conquest of the Provinces one of the prizes of the war. Immense consequences therefore hung upon General Hull's expedition. When it was learned

* Lord Castlereagh admitted that, at the beginning of the year 1811, there *might have been* sixteen hundred *bona fide* American citizens serving under compulsion in the British fleet. Over that number had been kidnapped by His Majesty's minions, and many Americans actually had to fight, throughout the war, against their country.

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that he had not struck a blow for the conquest, but had returned to Detroit, and there had surrendered his entire army to General Brock, execration was upon every American lip, and the name of Hull became the synonym for cowardice. Children learned to heighten their vocabulary of imprecations by using the expression, "As mean as Hull!"—it worded their most implacable contempt.

Better encounter a thousand chances for defeat and death than brave the scorn even of children!

The little troop moving on Niagara had noble incentives to duty. That surrender filled the breasts of officers and men with an indignation which amounted to solemnity. They marched toward the frontier, resolved to wipe away that stain upon American honor and arms or to die. Station was taken at Black Rock (just below Buffalo, on the American side of the river), where a United States navy yard was about to be established. Commodore Chauncey was operating on Lake Ontario, below, pursuing, with his extemporized fleet, the British into Kingston harbor. Resolving upon similar efforts to command the waters of Lake Erie, he dispatched Lieutenant Elliott and a company of seamen to Black Rock, where, in concert with Scott, he conceived the project of cutting out two British brigs of war just arrived from Detroit, and then lying snugly under the guns of Fort Erie—a British fortress opposite Buffalo. This enterprise of great daring was gallantly executed on the morning of October 9th, (1812). Captain Towson and a select corps from his company assisted in the capture—boarding and seizing the *Caledonia*, while Lieutenant Elliott and his seamen (assisted by Lieutenant Roach) carried the *Adams*. The two brigs dropped down stream, with the current; but the *Adams*, becoming becalmed, drifted into the shore (or British) channel, and eventually grounded on Squaw island, within range of the heavy guns of Fort Erie, which opened on the brig with great fury. She was, therefore, abandoned, though all the prisoners, stores, etc., were secured. Captain Towson's prize safely reached Black Rock. The abandoned vessel was the American brig *Adams*, captured off Amherstburg (Malden) by the British, when loaded with supplies for General Hull. Her recapture, therefore, was a matter for congratulation, and, though abandoned,

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Colonel Scott determined to preserve her from the enemy's hands. A very lively contest soon ensued. The British sent off boats to retake the vessel—Scott's men, under his own orders, drove them back, and reoccupied the hull until she was burned by orders of General Smythe, who, unfortunately for his country, was given a superior command on the frontier, and had arrived at Black Rock at the time of the expedition. The *Caledonia* was reserved for future service, and played a gallant part in the Battle of Lake Erie, under Commodore Perry.

This incident, small in itself, served greatly to elate the New York militia, which Governor Tompkins had called into the field, under command of Major-General Stephen Van Rensselaer. These troops were so clamorous for action that General Van Rensselaer conceived the plan of seizing Queenstown for his winter-quarters. This village was on the Canada side, opposite Lewiston, at the foot of the Falls. Having been joined by 450 regulars from Fort Niagara, under command of Colonels Chrystie and Fenwick and Major Mullaney, the attempt was made, October 12th, when 600 troops—half militia, under command of Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, and half regulars, under Colonel Chrystie—were ordered to cross the river. Small boats were wanting to so great an extent that the troops had to go over in detachments, thus greatly retarding the movement, and affording the enemy opportunity for worrying the men. Colonel Van Rensselaer succeeded in getting over about 100 of his troops, when a collision was forced by the enemy. The Americans suffered terribly. Colonel Van Rensselaer fell, pierced by four balls, and every commissioned officer was either killed or wounded. But others now came up with small detachments. Colonel Van Rensselaer uttered his last orders—"Storm the batteries!" Captains Wool,* Ogilvie, Armstrong and Malcolm executed the command with great intrepidity:—the height was stormed and the enemy's battery carried. The British retreated to a stone house near by, from which the Americans were not strong enough to dislodge them. General Brock, with a small force of regulars, now appeared upon the ground. He led his men gallantly to the charge, supported by Colonel

*Now Major-General Wool.

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McDonald. Both fell before the well directed fire of the Americans, and their troops were quickly dispersed. The action then ceased, for awhile.

Colonel Scott, during all this proceeding, was no idle spectator. Being at Black Rock, on the river above Lewiston, he hastened, by a lonely night-march, to General Van Rensselaer to offer his services. But, all commands having been given out, he was permitted to bring down his own regiment and artillery to act as circumstances should require. On the morning of October 12th he reached the American camp, and, finding no means of transport across the river to engage the enemy, drew up his artillery on the bank. It was served by Captains Towson and Barker and aided the movement of the advance by throwing shot into the enemy's lines, and the battery on the opposite bank. The well-served pieces kept the British much under cover, and thus rendered good service. After the American assault and its disasters, he solicited and obtained permission to cross and assume command of the troops. Accompanied by his adjutant, the gallant Lieutenant Roach,* he crossed the river, and, mounting the heights, encountered Brigadier-General William Wadsworth, of the New York State militia. This officer being a superior, Scott instantly deferred his general command, and proposed to lead the regulars, under General Wadsworth's orders. That gentleman and admirable officer, however, responded: "No sir! You shall command, for you know best what should be done. I have come here unordered, and for the honor of the New York militia, whom I wish to lead." Scott could but press the hand of the disinterested soldier, and immediately assumed the field, in general command. Throughout the terrible conflict which followed, General Wadsworth stood by Scott and served him with great intrepidity. The young commander's unusually tall figure † was a target for the rifles of the savages who lurked in the covers around, and Wadsworth several times sprung before him to receive, in his own person, the ball which he saw was aimed at the Colonel. Both miraculously escaped unharmed—much to the astonishment

* Still living, we believe, in Philadelphia, of which city he was mayor, a few years since.

† Scott, at that time, measured six feet five inches in stature.

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of the Indians, who rarely missed their aim. They afterward declared the American bore a charmed life and never would be killed in battle.

Reinforcements continuing to pass over the river, Scott found on the heights 350 regulars and 250 militia with which to operate against the rapidly concentrating enemy. With the assistance of Captain Totten* the strongest disposition in defense was made, not only to resist the enemy but also to cover the passage of the residue of the troops across the river. The preparations were all needed, for the Indians, to the number of 500, joined the British light infantry previously engaged, and made a combined charge on the American position. The reception was warm and they were driven back with much loss. Not daunted, the savages made several other desperate attempts upon the picket-guards, but were, in each instance, repulsed.† The garrison at Fort George, eight miles below, hearing the first cannonade, had hurried forward and were now on the ground, eight hundred and fifty strong, under command of Major-General Sheaffe. This force, added to that already engaged, made the odds fearfully against the Americans. The reinforcements were now looked for with painful anxiety. Vain solicitude!

The militia, still remaining on the American side, had so far cooled in ardor as positively to refuse to cross the river. The sight of the wounded brought over from the Canada shore appalled them. They stood upon their technical rights only to fight upon their own soil, and no prayers of officers, no command of the General, no petition from the little troop over the river, could induce them to fill the now empty boats. Nothing seemed to remain for the three hundred but surrender or massacre. Scott preferred the latter. Mounting a log, he thus addressed the men :

* Now the eminent Chief of the Corps of Engineers.

† Mansfield mentions an incident which happily illustrates Scott's power over his men. The pickets having been forced back upon the main body, a panic ensued among the militia, which, for a moment, threatened the entire loss of the day, and a general massacre of the forces. Scott, at the moment, was in the rear showing the men how to unspike a cannon. He rushed forward, sprung over the lines, ordered his men, in a voice of thunder, "Right-about!" "Stand!" "Charge!" It was the work of an instant, but it saved the day. The savages recoiled before the charge, which he led in person, and did not return again to the assault. Great numbers of them fell before the balls and bayonets of the aroused soldiery.

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"'The enemy's balls begin to thin our ranks. His numbers are overwhelming. In a moment the shock must come, and there is no retreat. We are in the beginning of a national war. Hull's surrender is to be redeemed. Let us then die, arms in hand. Our country demands the sacrifice. The example will not be lost. The blood of the slain will make heroes of the living. Those who follow will avenge our fall and their country's wrongs. Who dare to stand?'

"'ALL!' was the answering shout." *

Sheaffe came forward with great precaution, evidently fearing some reserve or strategy, for it seemed to him incredible that such a small force should attempt to stem the tide of war. He made the attack, finally, with great fury. The Americans replied with equal spirit, but, how long could that be done? Not long, indeed. The promise to stand by their commander to the death was broken, for, perceiving that the enemy was closing around upon all sides, the last moment was seized by the men to drop over the banks of the river and clamber or fall down to the stream below. The officers followed, hoping for some fortune by which they might bring the men into concert of action again. But all was hopeless, and, after a brief consultation, it was decided to capitulate, if honorable terms were given. Several flags of truce were sent up the height, but they were fired upon and the messengers lost. Scott then resolved to perform the duty himself. In company with Captains Gibson and Totten, he sallied forth on his perilous errand, bearing a white handkerchief strung to his sword as the flag of truce. Using the precipice for a cover they safely reached the path up the bank to the road leading from the village to the heights. This road was gained, at length, though a number of savages, sighting the white flag, had fired upon it repeatedly; when, suddenly, two stalwart warriors sprung from cover upon the messengers, with uplifted tomahawks. Scott swung aloft his flag, and, defiantly pointing to it, caused them to hesitate a moment. But only a moment, for they quickly made an attempt to wrench the flag from his grasp. Totten and Gibson, fired by indignation at the outrage, drew their swords, and would have made short work with the assailants had not a British officer and a troop of horse rode down upon the combatants.

* Mansfield's Biography.

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The Americans were given proper protection, though the fiendish savages—the "allies" of the English—did not fail to express their rage that three such fine scalps should have been snatched from their grasp.

Terms of honorable capitulation were obtained of General Sheaffe, when Scott surrendered of officers and men, two hundred and ninety-three — the entire remnant of his late forces.

NOTE.—Some of the militia, it would appear, had, during the day, been persuaded to embark and land above the scene of conflict to *await* the issue of the battle! To Scott's extreme disgust these men were all brought in as prisoners. Not a gun had they fired. Major Mullaney had made the most strenuous exertions to get over a force of two hundred men. The men embarked, but unfortunately the boats were loaded so deeply as to become unmanageable in the heavy current, and the whole detachment was carried ashore, right in the enemy's midst. All these disasters made the American loss, in killed, wounded and prisoners, about 1,000. Of the British loss no authentic account has been given. That they suffered most severely is conceded. The Indians, in particular, were greatly exasperated at their enormous losses as compared with those of their enemy. It may be proper to state that Hildreth, the historian, says the militia, *after hearing Sheaffe's guns*, refused to pass over—that those *already on the Canada shore* were nearly as numerous as Sheaffe's forces, and were captured in attempting to fall back upon the water's edge, etc. Brackenbridge, in his "History of the Late War," gives still another version of this affair at Queenstown. He has it that Brock charged three times at the head of the 49th regiment, 600 strong, and that the British were on the point of driving the Americans over the precipice, when Colonel Chrystie came up with a small reinforcement, and led a desperate charge, which routed the British, and Brock, endeavoring to rally his flying troops, was pierced by three balls—that after this General Van Rensselaer crossed over for the purpose of fortifying the camp on the heights, assigning the engineer's duty to Captain Totten—that the *Chippewa* Indians and British made an impetuous attack at three, P. M., but were repulsed by the fiery ardor of Scott and Chrystie—that General Van Rensselaer then recrossed the river to bring over the remaining 1,200 militia, but, to his great chagrin, found the men determined not to embark, and sent word over, accordingly, to General Wadsworth, with orders for him to consult his own judgment in the further action of the day, etc. There is such discrepancy in the several accounts of the action that it is difficult to get at the exact truth. The version we adopt is, generally, that of Mansfield.

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CHAPTER III.

A PRISONER—ATTACKED BY THE TWO SAVAGES—THE ESCAPE—BURIAL OF GENERAL BROCK—THE AFFAIR AT QUEBEC—THE IRISH PRISONERS SEIZED TO BE TRIED FOR HIGH TREASON—SCOTT'S FEARLESS PROTEST—HIS SPEECH AND THREATS OF RETALIATION—IS EXCHANGED—LAYS BEFORE GOVERNMENT THE CASE OF THE PRISONERS—PROMPT RETALIATORY ACTION—ITS RESULT—INCIDENT OF THE RETURN OF THE IRISH HOME, AFTER THE WAR.

THE action of Queenstown Heights, while it reflected honor on those engaged under Scott, Wadsworth, and the chivalric Colonel Chrystie, brought discredit on the State militia. The intrepid assault and defense of the heights, by the three hundred, added greatly to the confidence of the troops generally; while great regret was expressed, by the people and the press, that the gallant commander and his comrades should have been compelled to endure the mortifications of a surrender, owing to the bad arrangements for the transport of the troops and the attitude of the militia.

The prisoners were treated with much kindness by General Sheaffe's express orders, and every precaution adopted to prevent the Indians from offering any outrage to them. But, in one instance at least, they succeeded in baffling the guards, and came near wreaking their bloody vengeance upon Colonel Scott. The American officers were quartered at an inn, at Niagara village (near Fort George), and were allowed the freedom of the house. Receiving word that two visitors awaited in the hall to see him, Scott passed out, into the entry, alone. He there met the two savages whom he had baffled in their assault upon the flag of truce. They were, the celebrated chief, Captain Jacobs, and a son of Brandt, both muscular, resolute men. Their errand was, apparently, to examine the "tall American" and see if he had not been hit by their balls. It seemed incredible to them that he should have escaped their repeated and carefully-aimed shots. Captain Jacobs seized Scott roughly by the arm to turn him

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around. The Colonel from the first felt assured that their design was to tomahawk him. He now threw the Indian from him, indignantly exclaiming:—"Off, villain! You fired like a squaw!" The savage, perfectly furious, cried:—"We kill you now!" as both drew their tomahawks and knives. The intrepid American saw that it was a moment of life or death to him. Not a word was uttered; but, backing toward the corner of the entry, where stood the swords of the officers, he kept the savages, for a moment, at bay. A sudden spring gave him possession of a long saber, fortunately lying first at hand. Another spring forward, upon his foes, placed them on the defense. They then commenced maneuvering with their barbarian sagacity, to get the advantage of position; but Scott, with his gleaming weapon, kept them before him. At that fearful moment the door opened, and Captain Coffin, a British officer in the General's staff, entered. He saw the peril of the prisoner, and shouted, "Guard!" as he placed the muzzle of his pistol at the head of young Brandt, while he caught Jacobs by the arm. The guard came rushing in, with poised bayonets, when the *allies* were marched away, thoroughly infuriated that, a second time, they should have been foiled. So furious did not only they, but all the Indians, become at the failure to kill the American commander, that the guard was doubled around the inn, and Scott was unable to leave the building even to dine with General Sheaffe, unless attended by a strong escort.

General Brock, who fell mortally wounded at the attempt to retake the lost position on Queenstown Heights, was an officer of many noble qualities of head and heart. His death was sincerely lamented—by none more than by Colonel Scott. The remains were deposited under one of the bastions of Fort George, with great military parade. Scott sent word of the event to the American commander of Fort Niagara, opposite Fort George, requesting that minute guns might be fired during the sad rites. Captain McKeon cheerfully complied, and Brock was laid in his tomb amid the booming of sympathetic guns of the two nations.*

* Brock had a fine monument erected to his memory, on Queenstown Heights, by the British Government, beneath which his remains were sepultured. In the "Patriot War" some wretch of a Vandal blew up the monument. It was restored by the Government, and now crowns that memorable height—a melancholy record of the honors of war.

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The American prisoners were borne to Quebec, and most of them, including officers, were sent to Boston for exchange. A few, however, of the Irish, were retained, as being subjects of the British Crown. They were "spotted" by the British officers by their brogue. Scott being below, heard the noise on deck of men declaring their American citizenship, and rushed up to discover that twenty-three men already had been set apart, for transportation to England, where, they were informed, they were to be tried for high treason in taking up arms against their lawful sovereign. Scott instantly protested against the outrage, declaring that, as *American* citizens his men should receive the protection of his Government. The British officer in command ordered him to be silent. Defiantly drawing himself up to his fullest height, he shouted to the men to refuse to answer any questions propounded to them by which their nationality might be discovered, and, turning to the officer, he said:—

"I know my place, my duty and my rights. I know you are committing a monstrous wrong against my troops. But I warn you, sir, and your superiors, that, if you persist in sending off these prisoners to England for trial I shall make a fearful exchange; for, for every man you take, my Government will take ten, and for every life you jeopardize the lives of ten Englishmen shall pay the forfeit. You and your Government shall be made to feel the law of retaliation to a degree of which you little dream, if you persist in this infamous business."

He then addressed the prisoners words of instruction, as to their rights, and exhorted them, under all circumstances, to claim a citizenship of the United States. He promised them the fullest protection of the Government, and said that, if a hair of their head was harmed, no quarter would ever be given in battle—the fight should be war to the knife. His words cheered the poor, dispirited men like magic, while the British officers frequently interrupted but did not succeed in staying his fiery speech. As no more Irish would answer questions only the twenty-three already set apart could be secured for transportation. These were placed in irons, on a frigate in waiting, and borne to England for trial. Scott, true to his promise, hastened from Boston, after his exchange, to Washington, to lay the whole affair before Government. By order of the President he reported the matter in writing to the

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War Department (January 13th, 1813). It served to awaken especial attention to Great Britain's assumptions that her citizenships were perpetual; and, although Congress had before refused to pass a special Retaliatory Act, it now reconsidered its position so far as to pass (March 3d) the "Act investing the President of the United States with the power of retaliation." Under this enactment the President authorized the retention of hostages, not only for the twenty-three Irish, but for all other American troops who had been, or might be, seized and imprisoned as subjects of Great Britain. There was no other course to be pursued to compel the British Government to abrogate its monstrous assumptions of perpetual and irrevocable citizenship of its born subjects. Like the "right of search and seizure" claim it was a just *casus belli*, and would have been so treated if, like that "right," it had not virtually been abandoned as a preliminary to peace. We may add, however, that Great Britain has never entirely abrogated the claim then put forth, and circumstances *may* arise in which this question of citizenship will again disturb the relations between the two countries.

This action of the Government was soon enforced. General Dearborn, by orders of Mr. Madison, placed twenty-three British (Englishmen all of them) in confinement as hostages, and communicated the fact to Sir George Prevost, Governor-General of Canada. This called from the British ministry the following reply to Prevost's demand for special instructions:—

"You will lose no time in communicating to Major-General Dearborn, that you have transmitted home a copy of his letter to you, and that you are, in consequence, instructed distinctly to state to him that you have received the commands of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, forthwith to put in close confinement forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers, to be held as hostages for the safe keeping of the twenty-three British soldiers stated to have been put in close confinement by order of the American Government; and you will at the same time apprise him, that if any of the said British soldiers shall suffer death by reason that the soldiers now under confinement here have been found guilty, and that the known law not only of Great Britain, but of every independent State under like circumstances, has been in consequence executed, you have been instructed to select out of the American officers and non-commissioned officers whom you shall put into close

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confinement, as many as may *double* the number of British soldiers who shall so unwarrantably have been put to death, and cause such officers and non-commissioned officers to suffer death immediately.

"And you are further instructed to notify Major-General Dearborn, that the commanders of His Majesty's fleets and armies on the coasts of America, have received instructions to prosecute the war with unmitigated severity against all cities, towns and villages belonging to the United States and against the inhabitants thereof," etc., etc.

This so fully shows the arrogance and spirit of the assumption referred to, that we give it as a historical fact of great significance—particularly as the event proved that the British Government not only did not try, convict and execute the twenty-three Irishmen, but failed to do any of the wonderful things threatened, of devastation of cities, etc. Why? Because forty-six British *commissioned* officers were set apart immediately as hostages for the said forty-six Americans; and the bearing of the American officers and Government left not a shadow of doubt on the minds of the impolitic Sir George Prevost and his superiors that the principle of retaliation would be carried to a general massacre if necessary to defend the lives and liberty of these twenty-three Irishmen. Such is the good result of what Americans expressively term *backbone*, in times of trial.

The last incident in the history of the Irish prisoners may here be given. After peace had been concluded, Scott, suffering from his wounds, determined to visit Europe. Strolling along the East river side of New York city, one day in July, 1815, preparatory to his departure, his ears were greeted with the din of a great huzzaing and bustle, on one of the piers. Passing down, he found gathered on the pier the identical Irishmen carried to England in irons from Quebec. They had just landed from a Liverpool packet—having been sent home by the British Government; and their arrival it was which had created the wild huzzas. Scott had scarcely approached the crowd before he was recognized by the returned men. Instantly they flew to his side. They embraced him, pressed his knees, kissed his very feet in their joy, while all wept like children. Scott was deeply moved, and was truly repaid for all he had done in their behalf. Two

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had died during their confinement; twenty-one had returned. Scott, notwithstanding his pressing preparations for the foreign journey, and his ill-health, immediately laid their case before the Department, and obtained, for all of them, arrearages of pay and land bounty patents, thus placing them in comparatively comfortable circumstances. These kind offices further endeared him to the Irish, generally, for, it is a somewhat remarkable fact, that that people have a free-masonry of friendship which reciprocates a disinterested kindness done even to the least of their kin.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813—AID TO GENERAL DEARBORN—THE TAKING OF FORT GEORGE—SCOTT'S GREAT INTREPIDITY—THE SUMMER SERVICE—EXPEDITION AGAINST YORK AND ITS GOOD FRUITS—THE PLAN TO SEIZE KINGSTON AND MONTREAL—DEPARTURE OF THE ARMY—SCOTT REMAINS IN FORT GEORGE—ENEMY'S ABANDONMENT OF "THE PENINSULA"—SCOTT'S MARCH TO SACKETT'S HARBOR TO JOIN THE MAIN ARMY—UNPLEASANT CIRCUMSTANCES ATTENDING IT—JOINS THE ARMY SINGLY—BRILLIANT SERVICES IN THE CAMPAIGN OF THE ST. LAWRENCE.

WINFIELD SCOTT again found himself on the frontier, early in May (1813). He was chosen chief of the staff of General Dearborn—assuming the office of Adjutant-General—though he reserved the right to a command of his own regiment in case of special or extraordinary service. The staff was composed chiefly of officers new to that service. This threw upon the Adjutant almost the entire duty of organization of departments—a duty which he discharged with great thoroughness. It was all needed, for the campaign to follow was one requiring the resources of discipline, efficiency and strength.

Fort George, although within cannon-shot of the American Fort Niagara, opposite, was held by the British. General Dearborn resolved upon its possession, in order to command the approaches to Queenstown, which it was the wish of the Americans to seize and hold as a strategical and defensive position. Add to this Fort Erie, opposite Buffalo, and the whole Niagara frontier would be used as the base of operations

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in the further conquest of Canada—a design fully determined upon by our Government. General Pike, aided by Commodore Chauncey with the Ontario Lake fleet, had gallantly captured York (Toronto) with its entire garrison, immense stores, etc.* Having secured prisoners, munitions, goods, and destroyed the British naval *materiel* designed for the formation of a fleet with which to cope with Chauncey, the place was evacuated.. This gave to General Dearborn a force adequate to the reduction of Forts George and Erie, and disposition was made for the attempt on Fort George.

On the morning early (May 27th) the fleet and transports stood out from the American shore of Lake Ontario, just below Fort Niagara. The fleet consisted of eleven sail, and also included several gun-boats, with transports for six regiments. To Scott was confided the post of honor—leading the advance-guard, or forlorn hope. He was followed by Colonel Moses Porter's artillery, then by the brigades of Generals Boyd, Winder, Chandler, and Colonel Macomb's corps of picked men. The vessels and gun-boats of the squadron drew up within musket-shot distance of the shore, from about half a mile below and west of the mouth of the Niagara river, up to Fort George, which it actively engaged. The British, under command of General Vincent, had drawn up in double lines, twelve hundred regulars strong—having a high bank in front. The landing was effected under a severe fire, but the fleet and boats so covered the movement, by their well-directed shot, that the troops succeeded in securing a safe debarkation, by nine o'clock, A. M. Captain Oliver Hazard Perry—afterward Commodore—rendered most admirable services on the occasion, exercising his great skill in marine matters with happy results. When the American advance had secured a foothold, the line was immediately formed and the charge made on the strongly disposed British lines. It was repulsed by the furious fire of the enemy, and Scott, trying to steady his men, stumbled and fell upon the beach. General Dearborn, from the flag-ship *Madison*, was watching him with a glass. Seeing

* The capture was a valuable one not only in respect to stores but all the baggage, papers, etc., of General Sheaffe were secured. The brave Pike was killed in the moment by the explosion of a mine, which also *murdered* many valuable men and officers. The explosion occurred *after* the capitulation, and is generally supposed to have been a plan to blow up the American forces entire.

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the leader fall he is reported to have burst into tears, exclaiming: "He is lost! He is killed!" But, the panic was only momentary. Recovering from the fall Colonel Scott rallied his men, and dashed forward upon the enemy with terrible fury. Gaining a good position, he held his ground, when a short but desperate fight ensued. Twenty minutes served to rout the British lines, upon all sides. They fled for the village, half a mile away. Having now been joined by part of Boyd's brigade and a regiment of infantry under Colonel Miller, a hot pursuit of the flying enemy was immediately made. Passing Fort George two companies were headed by Scott to save it from being blown up by the decamping garrison. When near the fort a magazine exploded, causing some destruction, and imperiling the advancing troop. Scott was knocked from his horse and considerably bruised, but hurried the men on, forced the gate and was first within the walls. His own hand* struck the British flag. Captains Hindman and Stockton, at imminent risk of their lives, snatched the matches from the magazines, and thus saved the fort entire. This accomplished, the companies hastened on after the main body, which was soon regained and the enemy chased fully five miles up stream. So impetuous was this pursuit that Scott had disregarded two orders for his return, feeling thus warranted by the prospect of having the enemy soon in his power. General Boyd hastened after him, in person, and stayed the pursuit, acting under the orders of General Dearborn, who feared to trust another close conflict. Scott called off his men, and returned, with the deepest regret. The British main line was in full sight, and with the fine force at his disposal, he felt sure of a successful issue of a second battle, which would give him possession of those heights at Queenstown where he had seen such hard service, the previous year.

General Dearborn's and Commodore Chauncey's official

* Brackenbridge says, in his History of the War:—"General Boyd and Colonel Scott mounted the parapet, for the purpose of cutting away the staff; but Hindman succeeded in taking the flag, which he forwarded to General Dearborn." A mistake in two respects, viz.:—General Boyd was not in the fort, at the moment mentioned, and Hindman took the flag drawn down by Scott, with orders to have it sent to the General. Colonel Porter, of the artillery, hastened up to take possession of the fort and flag, but, finding Scott already there, he exclaimed: "Confound your long legs, Scott, you have got in before me!" and turned to hurry on after his company.

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reports to their respective Departments, made particular mention of Scott's and Boyd's services. Although too ill to land with his army, General Dearborn retained the command-in-chief and gave his orders from a couch on the deck of the *Madison*. He reported the American loss as 17 killed, 45 wounded. The British loss was 90 killed, 160 wounded and 100 prisoners.

The main body of the army held position at Fort George during the next three months. Special services were performed by Generals Winder and Chandler. They desired to pursue the British under Vincent, who had retreated toward Fort Erie. The expedition was most unfortunate—both of the Generals, and a few of their troops, falling into the hands of the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, with 600 men, essayed to take the British post at Beaver Dam, seventeen miles from Fort George. He was surrounded by a largely superior force of British and Indians, and, after a severe and protracted engagement, compelled to surrender (June 24th). Colonel Scott during these three months was not inactive. His chief service was in covering foraging parties, which, at times, presented opportunities for spirited fighting. The enemy at Queenstown was watched so closely that he scarcely obtained a load of forage, while the Americans were well supplied.

But, this petty warfare annoyed Scott, and, being promoted to the command of a double regiment (twenty companies), in July (1813) he resigned his Adjutant-Generalship, to arrange for active field duty. His regiment was very thoroughly drilled, and became, in a brief period, very efficient and ready for almost any enterprise. Scott then conceived an expedition against Burlington Heights, at the western head of Lake Ontario. It was supposed to be in possession of the enemy, who had there centered large stores of munitions, provisions, etc. The design for its capture was approved by General Lewis;* and Scott, with his troops, was taken on board Commodore Chauncey's fleet for transportation. No enemy was found at the fort, and, not to render the expedition

* The army at and around Fort George changed commands rapidly, during the summer. General Dearborn, owing to his continued illness, retired from service, to be succeeded by General Lewis, Lewis by General Boyd, Boyd by Wilkinson.

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fruitless, a second descent was made upon York (Toronto)—which, since its capture by General Pike and abandonment, had been retaken by the British, and was made the depôt of vast stores, as well as the rendezvous for American prisoners (Boerstler's regiment). A landing was effected, under Scott's command, and the design of the descent entirely accomplished. Boerstler's men were released. The public depôt was burnt, together with the entire range of barracks. Large quantities of clothing and provisions were secured, and eleven armed boats also taken, which were loaded down with the stores seized. Much ammunition, including several pieces of cannon, was transported to the fleet. All this having been safely effected, the Americans withdrew—as Scott afterward remarked —"to give General Sheaffe *another* opportunity for supplying the American camp."

This success inspired the General commanding, Wilkinson, with the idea of a descent on Kingston and Montreal. Chauncey's fleet had become so thoroughly manned and efficient, under his able management, that it was fully qualified for such a part as it must play in the attempt; and a reorganization of forces and concentration of *materiel* at some favorable point of debarkation was all that was necessary to initiate the movement for the actual conquest of Canada—these two cities being the keys to the upper province.

Sackett's Harbor was chosen for the base of operations. There the army rendezvoused, and all arrangements were perfected for the vigorous prosecution of the campaign. Major-General Hampton was ordered to co-operate, with his entire division. Wilkinson embarked with the army of occupation then on the Niagara—leaving Scott to hold Fort George, and thus to defend the key to the peninsula of Niagara—a most important territory for the Americans to retain. Scott, as the first captor of the fort, was entitled to its defense. He was proud of the honor, and set about putting it in the most defensible order. After Wilkinson's departure, the enemy were expected to assail the post at any moment, in heavy force. Day and night the work of strengthening the position was prosecuted by officers and men, until, at the end of a week, it was ready for any event of attack.

At the end of that time (October 9th) the enemy, instead of

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falling upon Fort George, broke up camp, and, with all his disposable field forces, moved off toward the head of Lake Ontario, evidently *en route* for Kingston. This step gave Scott a release, for his instructions authorized him, in event of such a movement on the part of the enemy, to leave the post in command of Brigadier-General McClure, of the New York militia, then in command of Fort Niagara, opposite. He was instructed to join Wilkinson, with his forces, for active operations in the campaign. The fleet was to be sent to transport the troops. Scott immediately took steps to carry out instructions. He wrote a communication to Wilkinson, giving the news of the enemy's movements, and stating facts which were well calculated to make Wilkinson glad of the acquisition of such a force as Scott would bring into the field. He then advised the General:—

"I propose taking up my line of march on the morning of the 13th (October) for the mouth of the Genesee river, and there await the arrival of the vessels you are good enough to promise me. By this movement Captain Mix thinks with me, that I shall hasten my arrival at Sackett's Harbor five, possibly ten days. Captain Camp* (the Quartermaster) has a sufficient number of wagons to take me thither. I can easily make that place by the evening of the 15th."

That march from Fort George was an unpleasant affair. Proceeding to Genesee river, he there received advices from Commodore Chauncey that he was ready for the transport service, but that Wilkinson had positively forbidden the fleet to proceed upon any service which would require an absence of four days. This left no alternative for a weary, distressing march by foot, through forests and morasses, to Sackett's Harbor. Considering that Scott had not come prepared for such a tramp—that he had with him his convalescing sick and wounded whom he designed to leave at Sackett's Harbor—that the roads, owing to the incessant rains, were in a very bad condition—it may well be surmised that this disappointment was one calculated to excite any thing but agreeable feelings.

* Captain Camp—afterward Major—died at Sandusky, Ohio, in 1856. He was a man of good military capacity, and of undoubted field courage, to whom Scott became much attached. When running for the presidency he made it a point to tarry over the Sabbath in Sandusky, at the residence of Major Camp. It is needless to say the two old soldiers "fought their battles over again," by the fireside.

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But, there was not time for hesitancy. The march was entered upon at once, by way of Canandaigua and Utica.* When near the latter place, Scott was gladdened by meeting with the Secretary of War, General Armstrong, from whom he obtained permission to leave his troops, while he should hurry on alone to join the army at any point. Giving over his command to the excellent Major Hindman, he started for the head-quarters of General Wilkinson. After a very fatiguing journey, through rain and mud, he reached Ogdensburg Nov. 6th, beyond which place the army was just moving.

The British supposed the point of attack to be Kingston; hence had concentrated heavy bodies of troops in its vicinity, and had anchored heavy batteries along the river to command the approaching fleet. As the game was Montreal, the gauntlet of batteries had to be run. Scott was in the leading and largest boat of the flotilla, to pilot it through. It led the van fearlessly and safely notwithstanding the heavy fire upon it. During the passage of the flotilla down the river, Scott commanded the advance-guard, having been given command (Nov. 7th) of a choice battalion in Colonel McComb's regiment of chosen men.

The action (Nov. 11th) at Chrysler's farm (Chrystler's field) was only participated in by the rear division (Boyd's) of the army. The advance under Scott was forcing, at the same moment, a passage of the Hoophole creek, which was obstinately opposed by a strong body of the enemy. The Americans landed above the British, drove them from their positions, captured a number of prisoners and then went on their way. A similar service was performed, the day previous, at Fort Matilda, which the British had thrown up to command the St. Lawrence in its narrowest channel. The American advance landed, carried the fort at the bayonet's point, captured a number of prisoners—among them one officer—and kept the enemy at a distance by their own guns until the flotilla had safely passed.

All this spirited conduct of officers and men augurèd well for a happy result. What was the astonishment of the army, then, to receive orders on the 12th for a retreat! In the very moment of victory the expedition of conquest was abandoned!

* See Scott's letter to the Secretary of War, (Dec. 13th, 1813.)

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The advance was now in full command of the approaches to Montreal—nothing could prevent the capture of the city. The expedition had moved with such celerity that the troops centered at Kingston could not reach the lower city in time to afford any relief. Only four hundred marines and about two hundred sailors were there Nov. 4th, for the defense of the city, as Wilkinson confesses he was advised. The British had given up all as lost. The bugle-note of retreat was as surprising to them as it was astounding to the army of invasion and humiliating to the country.

The excuse for this retreat, offered by Wilkinson, was the refusal of General Hampton to add his forces to the expedition, as ordered. As it was apparent that Hampton's forces were *not* actually necessary to the success of the movement on Montreal, the excuse did not satisfy the army or the people:—all were not only deeply mortified at the desertion of the enterprise, but were angered at the authorities for having given so important a command to Wilkinson. He ended his "conquest" by going into winter-quarters at French's Mills, on Salmon river—the estimation of the whole country descending as rapidly toward the point of contempt as the thermometer toward zero.

A sad close to the campaign of the Army of the North for the year! Begun so brilliantly by General Pike, followed up by Commodore Chauncey's spirited exploits, and the capture of Fort George, the country expected much in the crowning act of the year. It expected in vain.

CHAPTER V.

COMMISSIONED BRIGADIER-GENERAL—FORMS A CAMP OF INSTRUCTION AT BUFFALO—ITS RESULTS—THE CAMPAIGN OPENED—CAPTURE OF FORT ERIE—SCOTT'S BRIGADE CELEBRATES THE FOURTH OF JULY—DRIVES THE MARQUIS OF TWEEDALE BACK UPON THE CHIPPEWA—BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA PLAINS, JULY 5TH—ITS DETAILS, AND ITS RESULTS.

To bring an army into the field capable of prosecuting the war with vigor was the wish of Government. The disastrous termination of the enterprise under Wilkinson had, to some extent, demoralized the spirit of the army. It was necessary,

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therefore, to reconstruct the forces, in a large degree, of new levies, to whom would be confided the campaign for 1814. To Scott was committed this duty of organization and reconstruction. Co-operating with Governor Tompkins he succeeded in calling into the field a reliable force, which, after the American evacuation of winter-quarters at French's Mill, was centered at Buffalo. Thither Scott repaired, by orders of Major-General Brown, to form a "camp of instruction," in which the American army—both officers and men—should be drilled and disciplined to the utmost perfection of the tactics adopted by the French army.

May 9th, Colonel Scott was commissioned Brigadier-General. The order to repair to Buffalo gave him command, therefore, of that division of the army, composed of the brigades of Porter (militia), Ripley (regulars) and his own (regulars, but chiefly new recruits); together with Hindman's battalion of artillery.*

The months of April, May and June were spent in camp. The course of instruction adopted was that of the French army. But one copy of its Manual of Tactics was in the camp—that belonging to General Scott. All studied from it. Scott would drill his staff and general officers—these would drill the grades below, and they, in turn, the non-commissioned officers and privates. All was system, thorough and rigid; and every man, from the highest to the lowest, felt the spirit of a true military enthusiasm glowing in his breast.

In the latter part of June, Major-General Brown appeared at the camp. He was surprised and delighted at the efficiency displayed by the troops, and immediately entered upon a stirring campaign—one well calculated to test the soldierly qualities of every man.

On the morning of July 3d, the first movements were initiated by a sudden descent upon the British post, Fort Erie, commanding the entrance of the Niagara river. Scott's

* Scott's own brigade consisted of the battalions of the 9th, 11th and 25th regiments of infantry, with a detachment of the 22d, and Towson's artillery. General Ripley's brigade was made up of the 1st, 21st, and 23d infantry. General Porter's brigade was composed of the several bodies of militia known as the Canadian, the New York, and the Pennsylvania volunteers. The service rendered by these troops in the summer campaign deserves their special mention at the hands of the historian.

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brigade, with Major Hindman's artillery, crossed the river below the fort, while General Ripley's brigade crossed above. The movement was a surprise to the enemy. Captain Buck, commanding the fort, had time only for a few shots ere his post was completely surrounded. He surrendered, unconditionally, when an American garrison occupied the post.

A forward movement was then ordered, upon General Riall, strongly encamped on the Chippewa river, below. Scott, as usual, was placed on the advance. July 4th he *celebrated* by a running fight, of sixteen miles, with the Marquis of Tweedale. The Marquis, with his European veterans, was driven before the furious and fast brigade, and, much to his own surprise, was compelled to fall back, across the Chippewa river, upon the main body. The Americans halted for the night and took up a good position on the right bank of Street's creek, two miles above the British camp. That two miles was over a plain admirably adapted for the maneuvers of contending armies. It was destined to receive its baptism of blood.

During the afternoon and evening the brigade of General Ripley came up, together with Porter's volunteers and Major Hindman's artillery (field and park). On the morning of the 5th, the enemy sent forward scouting and reconnoitering parties, and several very sharp engagements were made with the picket-guards of the American camp. This did not, however, draw the American forces to the field. General Riall resolved therefore, to press a general engagement. At four o'clock he advanced over the Chippewa, with his entire army, composed of very choice troops, many of whom had served against Napoleon, in Europe.

A wood to the left of the American position stretched from Street's creek to Chippewa. Into this the British commander threw a considerable force (his right wing) to press forward unseen and thus surprise the American left. It was detected by the wily old General, Brown; and Porter, with his volunteers and a body of Indians (Six Nations), was precipitated upon the enemy with such spirit and force as to compel the entire right of General Riall to retire. Porter continued the pursuit, along the main road, until he suddenly came upon the main body. The volunteers were instantly hotly pressed

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by the British and suffered so severely as to be driven back to the creek. Brown then ordered Scott forward to the action, with his entire brigade, and Towson's artillery.* He moved instantly, and, crossing the bridge of the creek, deployed into line of battle. The first battalion, under Major Leavenworth took the right. The second battalion was led by Colonel Campbell, who, being wounded at an early moment, was succeeded by Major McNeil. The third battalion was given the left, resting upon the wood. It was commanded by Major Jesup, whose orders were to turn the enemy's right flank, then coming steadily forward upon the American lines. "While warmly engaged in this service," says Brackenridge, "he was compelled to detach Captain Ketchum to attack some troops coming up to the assistance of the main body, with which the third battalion was engaged. The Major, having cleared his front, moved to the relief of his Captain, who had maintained an unequal contest against superior numbers.

"He had not accomplished this until after a severe struggle: being closely pressed in front and flank, and his men falling in numbers around him, he had deliberately given orders to advance, under a dreadful fire; until, gaining a position of more security, he compelled the enemy to retire, and came up in time to co-operate with Captain Ketchum's detachment. The admirable coolness and intrepidity of his corps were worthy of veterans, and proved the great progress the Americans had made in discipline. The battalion on the American right, under Major Leavenworth, was not only engaged with the British infantry, but often exposed to the fire of their batteries. One of its officers, Captain Harrison, had his leg shot off by a cannon-ball; but so doubtful did he consider the contest, that he would not suffer a man to be taken from his duty to bear him from the field, and supported the torture of his wound until the action ceased. After the lapse of an hour from the time the action became general, Captain Towson having completely silenced the enemy's most powerful battery, now turned upon their infantry at that moment advancing

* Mansfield states that Scott was taking his men out on the plain for drill, and was ignorant of the enemy's advance. At the bridge over the creek he met General Brown, who simply said: "The enemy is advancing, you will have a fight," and passed on to General Ripley's brigade in the rear. Mansfield adds that, beyond this remark, Scott received no further orders during the day. All a mistake, we must think.

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to a charge. The fire from Towson's artillery, which poured upon them; the oblique discharges of a part of McNeil's battalion, which was so posted as to assail both front and flank; the steadiness of the two battalions; and the apparent issue of the contest on his right flank with Major Jesup, compelled General Riall to retire, until he reached the sloping ground which led to Chippewa. From this point the British fled in confusion to their intrenchments, which were too strong to be assailed."

This account substantially conforms to the Report made by General Brown to the Department, July 7th. But, neither the Report, nor the above statement gives any idea of the remarkable skill displayed by Scott, nor of the courage and hardihood of the troops under his command. Scott's brigade was outnumbered by the British.* He had, therefore, to make up in strategy and science what was wanting in actual muskets. Scott himself was *everywhere*—leading first one battalion, then another; directing the indomitable Towson in his several changes of disposition of the artillery required by the rapidly varying front of battle:—he rode about like a whirlwind to dispose the attack, to outflank in his oblique charges, to encourage the officers and men to more than usual courage. His spirit and will fired all with an enthusiasm which knew no retreat, no wavering. The men stood up to the lines like walls of steel. This steadiness under heavy fire astounded the enemy—many of whose troops were soldiers who had fought out bloody campaigns in Europe; while the British officers, from General Riall and the Marquis of Tweedale down to their subalterns, were confounded with the extreme skill displayed in the evolutions and swift disposition of their antagonists.

General Brown states, in his report, that Ripley's brigade did not succeed in getting into the action before the enemy was flying from Scott's impetuous battalions. The greatest

* The British authorities state to the contrary, but figures are facts in this case. The British Adjutant-General's report, in enumerating the dead and wounded, specifies the troops engaged, thus:—1st regiment, Royal Scots; 8th, Queen's; 100th, Marquis of Tweedale's; a detachment of the Royal (19th) dragoons; a detachment of artillery (9 heavy guns); and a body of Canadian militia and Indians. The lowest estimate that can be made is 2,200 to 2,400 men. Scott's brigade complete, with Towson's artillery numbered less than 1,900. The Royal Scots, the Queen's own and the Marquis of Tweedale's regiment were old and celebrated troops.

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exertions were made to throw the gallant 21st regiment (of Ripley's brigade) into the field, but, the work was finished ere it could reach the British lines.

The killed, wounded and missing of the Americans amounted to 347; that of the enemy to 503, officially reported, in both instances. Among the wounded (British) were 7 Captains, 17 Lieutenants, Captain Holland, aid to General Riall, Lieutenant Cole, the Marquis of Tweedale, Lieutenant-Colonels Gordon and Dickson, etc., etc.

General Brown, in his Official Report, did full justice to the officers and men under his command. We may quote:

"I am depressed with the fear of not being able to do justice to my brave companions in arms, and apprehensive that some who had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves and promptly embraced it will escape my notice.

"Brigadier-General Scott is entitled to the highest praise our country can bestow—to him more than to any other man am I indebted for the victory of the 5th of July. His brigade covered itself with glory. Every officer and man of the 9th, 22d, 11th and 25th regiments, did his duty with a zeal and energy worthy of the American character. When every officer stands so pre-eminently high in the path of duty and honor, it is impossible to discriminate; but I can not deprive myself of the pleasure of saying that Major Leavenworth commanded the 9th and 22d, Major Jesup the 25th, and Major McNeil the 11th. Colonel Campbell was wounded early in the action, gallantly leading on his regiment.

"The family of General Scott (his military staff) were conspicuous in the field; Lieutenant Smith of the 6th infantry, Major of brigade, and Lieutenants Worth* and Watts, his aids."

Promotions followed this report as follows:

"*Honorary Brevets*—Brigadier-General Scott, to be Major-General; Majors Leavenworth, McNeil and Jesup to be Lieutenant-Colonels; Captains Crooker, Towson, Harrison and Austin to be Majors; Lieutenant Worth to be Captain; 2d Lieutenant Watts, to be 1st Lieutenant."

Beyond question this victory was owing to that Camp of Instruction at Buffalo. No skill and efficiency of command could have sufficed for the emergency, had not the men been matched with the veterans of the British army in field skill as well as in the confidence which comes of rigid discipline. Bravery is truly a comparative—not an absolute quality, as

* Afterward Major-General Worth. He died in the service, 1860.

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"the philosophers" will persist in recording it. The regiment which fights and runs away as militia, will fight and never flinch from orders when under thorough discipline as regulars. The men who blanch at the fire of a battery will charge that battery to a bloody and desperate death if a leader can but inspire them with the heroism of a moment. None, better than Scott, knows this; and his whole system of tactics is founded upon the great *cardinal* principle, that courage is a *comparative* quality, to *inspire* which *discipline* only is necessary. Cowards are brave men under the controlling hand of science.

The good result of this fight was not in the single victory alone, but in the fact demonstrated, viz.: that discipline only was wanting to render American soldiers equal to any troops in the world. That fact having gained a recognition, the country required of its authorities that the entire military organization should be rendered equal to the demands made upon it, so far as circumstances would permit. Out of that requirement sprung the institution at West Point, which has given so many accomplished men to the service of the Government.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BATTLE OF NIAGARA (COMMONLY CALLED THE BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE)—ITS REMARKABLE NATURE—EXTRAORDINARY SERVICES OF ALL ENGAGED — SCOTT'S BRIGADE ALMOST ANNIHILATED—SCOTT WOUNDED TWICE—IS COMPELLED TO RETIRE FROM THE CAMPAIGN.

But a brief rest was allowed the combatants of the 5th. Brown resolved to push his enemy back upon Queenstown, and, if possible, to drive him from that stronghold to the position on Burlington Heights, which should then become the prize for contention. That once in American hands would open, with Chauncey's fleet, the entire waters of Ontario to American enterprise, and again lay the train for the wished-for conquest of Canada. This plan, matured in wisdom and spirit, only failed of entire fulfillment owing to unforeseen and insurmountable difficulties.

On the 8th Ripley's brigade moved up the Chippewa, three miles above the British camp, where to construct a bridge for

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the passage of the stream. The enemy did not discover the movement until the bridge was near its completion. Riall then ordered his artillery to advance upon the point and stop proceedings. But, Hindman's artillery was ready for such a demonstration, and his scathing fire soon drove the British back to their camp. To follow up this advantage, Scott was now ordered to cross the bridge below and assail the camp in front. His brigade came on to the perilous service, with steady, quick step. Towson's guns swept up to the bridge to enfilade it. The British commander resolved not to incur the hazard of a complete capture, and withdrew his entire forces precipitately toward Queenstown, from whence the following day he advanced to Ten Mile creek. Brown followed closely and occupied Queenstown.

After various movements, in which several sharp engagements occurred, the American General resolved to pursue the British army, now under command of Lieutenant-General Drummond, to Burlington Heights, and thus strike for the key of his position, leaving Forts George and Niagara—both then in possession of the enemy—to be conquered at leisure. Queenstown was therefore abandoned by the American army, which fell back upon the Chippewa. The abandoned position was immediately occupied by General Riall, from whence, mistrusting the design of the Americans, he threw a strong force over the river to threaten the depôt at Schlosser, hoping thus to distract Brown's movement. As a counter, Scott was ordered to pass Riall, in his intrenched camp, and precipitate his forces upon Forts George and Massasagua, below, thus to compel him to recall his troops from over the river. At four P. M., on the 25th, the entire brigade, seven hundred strong, together with Towson's invincible artillery, passed out from Chippewa. Following the river road down, when near the cataract, at Lundy's Lane (a road leading from the Falls to Burlington Heights) he came upon the British, who had planted, on a commanding hill, a strong battery of nine pieces, two being brass twenty-fours. The advance of the brigade under Captains Harris and Pentland first encountered the enemy's outposts, and, after a sharp conflict drove them in upon the fortified position and main lines along the Lane. Scott, finding he had to encounter the entire force of Riall,

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well prepared for a stand, dispatched Major Jones to the Commander-in-Chief advising that the conflict would be general. His forward movement upon the forts below, was, of course, abandoned, and he prepared immediately for the struggle. Passing through an intervening slip of woods he was surprised to find a force drawn out, along Lundy's Lane, greater than that encountered at Chippewa. His case was, indeed, critical; it would seem that, situated as he was in bad position—outnumbered almost three to one in muskets—a tremendous battery commanding his entire lines—he must be annihilated if a conflict was risked. His quick mind determined all in a moment. To retreat would be a defeat, probably a disastrous one; to stand fire would decimate his forces; but, if reinforcements could come up the battle might be won. He resolved to stand, sending Lieutenant Douglass* to Brown with information of his critical condition, and thus hastening the reinforcements which were necessary to save him from utter destruction.†

The enemy opened fire on the Americans as soon as they emerged from the woods. The battle immediately became furious. Notwithstanding the great disparity of numbers, Scott disposed his several regiments so as to prevent being outflanked. The action was then one of strategy as well as of arms. It thus continued for an hour, with most sanguinary results to both sides. The 11th and 22d regiments, having had most of their officers either killed or wounded, and having exhausted all their ammunition, were withdrawn from the field. This left the whole brunt of battle to be borne by the intrepid Leavenworth. He was ordered to storm the terrible battery on the height, that was doing such fearful execution

* Afterward Professor at West Point, and, more recently, President of Kenyon College, at Gambier, Ohio.

† Mansfield thus accounts for the presence of so large a force of the enemy:—"The night before, the night of the 24th, Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond had arrived, in the British fleet, at the mouth of the Niagara, with a large reinforcement from Kingston and Prescott. This was wholly unknown to General Brown. Drummond had, in advance, sent instructions to Riall to meet him on the 25th on the Niagara. Accordingly, Riall had marched down the very road it had been arranged that Scott was to take on the 25th. He had come by Queenstown without putting a man across the Niagara! He had contrived his route, as the advance of Drummond's army, toward the Falls. On the way, he had already been joined by two of the battalions which had just come up in the fleet. The others arrived successively, at intervals, after the action commenced."

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on the thinned ranks, but his shattered columns were not equal to the service, and Leavenworth reported his condition to Scott. The General, begrimed with dust and blood, hurried up to Leavenworth's position, rode along the ranks and was gallantly cheered as he passed. He asked the men to hold their ground for a few moments longer, when reinforcements would relieve them—a promise which fired them with new strength. Here let us defer our account of the remarkable struggle which followed, to give place to Brackenridge's somewhat detailed statement of the entire action which followed the reinforcements:—

"Lieutenant Riddle, already well known as a reconnoitering officer, was the first to come to their assistance, having been drawn to the place by the sound of the cannon, while on a scouring expedition in the neighboring country. The same circumstance advised General Brown of the commencement of the action, and induced him to proceed rapidly to the scene, after giving orders to General Ripley to follow with the second brigade. He was already on his way when he met Major Jones, and, influenced by his communication, he dispatched him to bring up General Porter's volunteers, together with the artillery.

"The situation of Scott's brigade was every moment becoming more critical. Misled by the obstinacy of their resistance, General Riall overrated their force; and dispatched a messenger to General Drummond, at Fort George, for reinforcements, notwithstanding that the number engaged on his side, thus far, had been more than double that of the Americans. During the period that both armies were waiting for reinforcements, a voluntary cessation from combat ensued; and for a time no sound broke upon the stillness of the night, but the groans of the wounded mingling with the distant thunder of the cataract of Niagara. The silence was once more interrupted, and the engagement renewed with augmented vigor, on the arrival of General Ripley's brigade, Major Hindman's artillery, and General Porter's volunteers, and at the same time of Lieutenant-General Drummond with reinforcements to the British. The artillery were united to Towson's detachment, and soon came into action; Porter's brigade was displayed on the left, and Ripley's formed on the skirts of the wood, to the right of Scott's brigade. General Drummond took the command in person of the front line of the enemy with his fresh troops.

"In the mean time, Colonel Jesup, who, as before mentioned, had been ordered, at the commencement of the action, to take post on the right, had succeeded during the engagement, after a gallant contest, in turning the left flank of the enemy. Taking advantage of the darkness of the night, and the carelessness of

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the enemy in omitting to place a proper guard across a road on his left, he threw his regiment in the rear of their reserve; and surprising one detachment after another, made prisoners of so many of their officers and men, that his progress was greatly impeded by it. The laws of war would have justified him in putting them to death; 'but the laurel, in his opinion, was most glorious when entwined by the hand of mercy,' and he generously spared them. One of his officers, Captain Ketchum, who had already distinguished himself at the battle of Chippewa, had the good fortune to make prisoner of General Riall, who, on the arrival of General Drummond, had been assigned to the command of the reserve, and also of Captain Loring, the aid of General Drummond. The latter was a most fortunate circumstance, as it prevented the concentration of the British forces contemplated by that officer, before the Americans were prepared for his reception. After hastily disposing of his prisoners, Colonel Jesup felt his way through the darkness to the place where the hottest fire was kept up on the brigade to which he belonged; and drawing up his regiment behind a fence, on one side of the Queenstown road, but in the rear of a party of British infantry, posted on the opposite side of the same road, he surprised them by a fire so destructive, that they instantly broke and fled. 'The Major,' said General Brown, 'showed himself to his own army in a blaze of fire.' He received the applause of the General, and was ordered to form on the right of the second brigade.

"General Ripley, seeing the impracticability of operating upon the enemy from the place at which he had been ordered to post his brigade, or of advancing from it in line through a thick wood; in the impenetrable darkness of the night, determined, with that rapid decision which characterizes the real commander, to adopt the only measure by which he saw a hope of saving the first brigade from destruction, or of ultimately achieving the victory; and which when made known to the Commander-in-Chief, was instantly sanctioned. The eminence occupied by the enemy's artillery was the key to their position. Addressing himself to Colonel Miller, the same who had distinguished himself at Magagua, he inquired whether he could storm the battery at the head of the 21st regiment, while he would himself support him with the younger regiment, the 23d. To this the wary, but intrepid veteran replied, in unaffected phrase, 'I WILL TRY, SIR'—words which were afterward worn on the buttons of his regiment—and immediately prepared for the arduous effort, by placing himself directly in front of the hill. The 23d was formed in close column, by its commander, Major M'Farland; and the 1st regiment, under Colonel Nicholas, which had that day arrived from a long and fatiguing march, was left to keep the infantry in check. The two regiments moved on to one of the most perilous charges

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ever attempted; the whole of the artillery, supported by the fire of a powerful line of infantry, pouring upon them as they advanced. The 21st moved on steadily to its purpose: the 23d faltered on receiving the deadly fire of the enemy, but was soon rallied by the personal exertions of General Ripley. When within a hundred yards of the summit, they received another dreadful discharge, by which Major M'Farland was killed, and the command of his regiment devolved on Major Brooks. To the amazement of the British, the intrepid Miller firmly advanced, until within a few paces of their cannon, when he impetuously charged upon the artillerists, and after a short but desperate resistance, carried the whole battery, and formed his line in its rear, upon the ground previously occupied by the British infantry. In carrying the largest pieces, the 21st suffered severely: Lieutenant Cilley, after an unexampled effort, fell wounded by the side of the piece which he took; and there were few of the officers of this regiment who were not either killed or wounded. By the united efforts of these two regiments, and the bringing into line of the 1st, the fate of this bold assault was determined: the British infantry were in a short time driven down the eminence, out of the reach of musketry, and their own cannon turned upon them. This admirable effort completely changed the nature of the battle: every subsequent movement was directed to this point, as upon the ability to maintain it the result of the conflict entirely depended. Major Hindman was now ordered to bring up his corps, including Captain Towson's detachment, and post himself, with his own and the captured cannon, to the right of Ripley's brigade, and between it and the 25th, Jesup's regiment, while the volunteers of General Porter retained their position on the left of Scott's brigade.

"Stung with rage and mortification at this most extraordinary and successful exploit of the Americans, General Drummond, the British commander, now considered it absolutely essential to the credit of the British army, and to avoid insupportable disgrace, that the cannon and the eminence on which they were captured should be retaken. Having been greatly reinforced, he advanced upon Ripley, with a heavy and extended line, outflanking him on both extremes. The Americans stood silently awaiting his approach, which could only be discovered by the sound attending it, reserving their fire, in obedience to orders, until it could be effective and deadly. The whole division of the British now marched at a brisk step, until within twenty paces of the summit of the height, when it poured in a rapid fire, and prepared to rush forward with the bayonet. The American line being directed by the fire of the enemy, returned it with deadly effect. The enemy were thereby thrown into momentary confusion; but being rallied, returned furiously to the attack. A most tremendous conflict ensued; which for

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twenty minutes continued with violence indescribable. The British line was at last compelled to yield, and to retire down the hill. In this struggle General Porter's volunteers emulated the conduct of the regulars. The gallant Major Wood, of the Pennsylvania corps, and Colonel Dobbin, of the New York, gave examples of unshaken intrepidity.

"It was not supposed, however, that this would be the last effort of the British General; General Ripley therefore had the wounded transported to the rear, and instantly restored his line to order. General Scott's shattered brigade having been consolidated into one battalion, had during this period been held in reserve behind the second brigade, under Colonel Leavenworth—Colonel Brady having been compelled, by the severity of his wound, to resign the command. It was now ordered to move to Lundy's Lane, and to form with its right toward the Niagara road, and its left in the rear of the artillery.

"After the lapse of half an hour, General Drummond was heard again advancing to the assault with renovated vigor. The direction at first given by General Ripley was again observed. The fire of the Americans was dreadful; and the artillery of Major Hindman, which were served with great skill and coolness, would have taken away all heart from the British for this perilous enterprise, had not an example of bravery been set them by the Americans. After the first discharge, the British General threw himself with his entire weight upon the center of the American line. He was firmly received by the gallant 21st regiment; a few platoons only faltering, which were soon restored by General Ripley. Finding that no impression could be made, the whole British line again recoiled, and fell back to the bottom of the hill. During this second contest, two gallant charges were led by General Scott in person, the first upon the enemy's left, and the second on his right flank, with his consolidated battalion; but having to oppose double lines of infantry, his attempts, which would have been decisive had they proved successful, were unavailing. Although he had most fortunately escaped unhurt thus far, subsequently, in passing to the right, he received two severe wounds; regardless of himself, however, he did not quit the field, until he had directed Colonel Leavenworth to unite his battalion with the 25th regiment, under the command of Colonel Jesup.

"Disheartened by these repeated defeats, the British were on the point of yielding the contest, when they received fresh reinforcements from Fort George, which revived their spirits, and induced them to make another and still more desperate struggle. After taking an hour to refresh themselves and recover from their fatigue, they advanced with a still more extended line, and with confident hopes of being able to overpower the Americans. Our countrymen, who had stood to their arms

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during all this time, were worn down with fatigue, and almost fainting with thirst, which there was no water at hand to quench. From the long interval which had elapsed since the second repulse, they had begun to cherish hopes that the enemy had abandoned a further attempt; but in this they were disappointed. On the approach of the British for the third time, their courageous spirit returned, and they resolved never to yield the glorious trophies of their victory, until they could contend no longer. The British delivered their fire at the same distance as on the preceding onsets. But although it was returned with the same deadly effect, they did not fall back with the same precipitation as before; they steadily advanced, and repeated their discharge. A conflict, obstinate and dreadful beyond description, ensued. The 21st, under its brave leader, firmly withstood the shock; and although the right and left repeatedly fell back, they were as often rallied by the personal exertions of the General, and Colonels Miller, Nicholas, and Jesup. At length the two contending lines were on the very summit of the hill, where the contest was waged with terrific violence at the point of the bayonet. Such was the obstinacy of the conflict, that many battalions, on both sides, were forced back, and the opposing parties became mingled with each other. Nothing could exceed the desperation of the battle at the point where the cannon were stationed. The enemy having forced themselves into the very midst of Major Hindman's artillery, he was compelled to engage them across the carriages and guns, and at last to spike two of his pieces. General Ripley, having brought back the broken sections to their positions and restored the line, now pressed upon the enemy's flank and compelled them to give way. The center soon following the example, and the attack upon the artillery being at this moment repulsed, the whole British line fled a third time; and no exertions of their officers could restrain them until they had placed themselves out of reach of the musketry and artillery. The British now consented to relinquish their cannon, and retired beyond the borders of the field, leaving their dead and wounded.

"General Brown had received two severe wounds at the commencement of the last charge, and was compelled to retire to the camp at the Chippewa, leaving the command to General Ripley. The latter officer had made repeated efforts to obtain the means of removing the captured artillery; but the horses having been killed, and no drag-ropes being at hand, they were still on the place where they had been captured, when orders were received from General Brown, to collect the wounded and return to camp immediately. The British cannon were therefore left behind, the smaller pieces having first been rolled down the hill. The whole of the troops reached the camp in good order about midnight, after an unmolested march.

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"It is much to be regretted that these trophies of victory could not have been secured; as the circumstance of their recovery by the British gave them occasion, surprising as it may seem, to claim the victory. To high praise they certainly were entitled; but to the merit of "a complete defeat of the Americans," they had no claim, and the assertion was an outrage to truth. A compliment for such a victory ought to infuse the blush of shame into the cheek of any honorable soldier who had a share in the contest so named.

"The British force engaged, of whom 1,200 were militia and 500 Indians, was little short of 5,000 men; being nearly a third greater than that of the Americans. The loss on either side was proportioned to the nature of this dreadful and sanguinary battle: its aggregate, in both armies, amounted to 1,729; and the killed and wounded alone to near 1,400. In the records of the most bloody battles we seldom meet with so great a number of officers killed and wounded. On the side of the British, 1 assistant Adjutant-General, 1 Captain, 3 subalterns, and 79 non-commissioned officers and privates, were killed; Lieutenant-General Drummond, 3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 2 Majors, 8 Captains, 22 subalterns, and 522 non-commissioned officers and privates were wounded: 1 Major-General (Riall who was also wounded,) 1 aid-de-camp—Captain Loring, 5 other Captains, 9 subalterns, and 220 non-commissioned officers and privates, were prisoners or missing: making in all 878 men. The American loss was, 1 Major, 5 Captains, 5 subalterns, and 159 non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; Major-General Brown, Brigadier-Generals Scott and Porter, 2 aids-de-camp, 1 brigade Major, 1 Colonel, 4 Lieutenant-Colonels, 1 Major, 7 Captains, 37 subalterns, and 515 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded; and 1 brigade Major, 1 Captain, 6 subalterns, and 102 non-commissioned officers and privates, prisoners or missing: making a grand total of 851. Thus there was a difference of 27 only, between the respective losses of the contending parties."

Considered in all its aspects this battle is one of the most remarkable on record, from its obstinacy, the number of its dead in proportion to the number engaged, and the extraordinary generalship shown upon both sides. Fought in the night, under the very spray of the mighty cataract whose eternal roar mingled with the cannon's notes like a prolonged and mighty moan, it has in it elements of novelty and sublimity which attach to no other recorded strife. The charge and counter-charge, the rattle of musketry in line and platoon, the sharp crack of the pistol at some near foe, the thunder of

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the answering and answered artillery, the clash of sword on sword, the moans of wounded men and horses, the shouts of command, the huzzas of victory—all, kept up from sunset to midnight, contributed to the passing hours an epic as redolent of glory and gore, of pleasure and pain, of triumph and defeat, as ever thrilled the lyre of minstrel.

Scott was among those badly wounded. Two horses were shot under him, and his last hour in the conflict was passed on foot. One ball struck his side, injuring two ribs badly; but, tying his scarf tightly over the wound, he continued with his men. Late in the conflict he received a second ball in the left shoulder, which shattered the joint and compelled him to give up to the surgeon. Weak from loss of blood through his first wound, the last shot, adding sharp pain to depletion, prostrated him utterly, and the surgeons gave him little hope of an early or easy recovery. He was first borne to the camp of Chippewa, thence to the residence of a friend at Williamsville, near Buffalo, where he remained a month, suffering extremely. The companionship of the British General, Riall, and his aid, Major Wilson—both severely wounded, and prisoners—served to render his confinement less irksome. Though enemies in arms they soon became friends in earnest. The Britons were accomplished gentlemen, and ever entertained a lively and sincere affection for Scott.*

* Through Scott's intercession both Riall and Wilson were permitted to return to England at a moment, when, owing to the bad understanding existing between the two Governments, such concessions were rare. Riall was knighted for his services, and promoted. Wilson became Sir John Moríllyou Wilson. Mansfield says, that, owing to his great respect for the American character, Wilson invested the hard earnings of forty years' service, and all his wife's property, in *Mississippi bonds*, which, to the lasting disgrace of that State, were paid by the very convenient process of *repudiation*.

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CHAPTER VII.

GALLANT DEFENSE OF FORT ERIE—SCOTT EN ROUTE FOR PHILADELPHIA—INTERESTING INCIDENTS BY THE WAY—IS MADE M. A. AT PRINCETON—TAKES COMMAND OF TROOPS FOR DEFENSE OF PHILADELPHIA AND BALTIMORE—IN CHARGE OF THE TENTH MILITARY DISTRICT—PLANS THE CAMPAIGN FOR 1815—IS OFFERED THE SECRETARYSHIP OF WAR—GOES TO EUROPE—GOOD RESULTS OF THE TOUR—RETURN—MARRIES—GOLD MEDAL FROM CONGRESS—SWORDS FROM VIRGINIA AND NEW YORK.

A STRICT adherence to our biography precludes the privilege of recording, at length, the story of the campaign on the Niagara, after the two conflicts of Chippewa and Niagara Falls. Suffice to say, overmatched greatly in numbers the Americans retreated before General Drummond's heavy columns. The main body of the army passed up the Niagara to Black Rock ferry, where it came to a halt; and Brown resolved to make one more grand issue with his opponent. He decided to hold Fort Erie. Throwing his entire force into it he made rapid preparations for the defense. Brigadier-General Gaines was given the general command. The condition of the fortress was not calculated to resist the heavy artillery of Drummond, but, with most indomitable spirit, it was put in order, and the garrison prepared for a glorious resistance. Drummond came up (August, 3d), to find all ready for his warm reception. A careful reconnoiter convinced him of the impossibility of carrying the fortress by storm. He therefore regularly invested it. Trenches were gradually opened and batteries planted. Bombardments and assaults followed, with no very favorable results to the British, so furious was the defense. Ripley, Hindman, McRae, Porter, Trimble, Towson were all there, as well as Brown, their wounded but ever vigilant Commander-in-Chief. They were more than a match for the veterans from beyond the sea. For fifty days the siege continued with fearful loss to the assailants, when Brown resolved upon a sortie. It was a daring, but well advised enterprise—the only thing which could possibly save the garrison from the enemy's tremendous preparations for a final bombardment and assault. The sortie was made, and stands recorded one of the most brilliant

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exploits of the war. Three days after the sortie General Drummond raised the siege (September 21st) and retired to Chippewa, utterly discomfited by the bravery and strategic resources of "the Yankees."

Thus the campaign on the Niagara ended gloriously for American arms: how much such a result was owing to that Camp of Instruction in Buffalo only the men engaged in the three conflicts could tell.

Anxious to reach Philadelphia for the eminent surgical aid necessary in his case, Scott started for the East. Arriving at Batavia he was compelled to tarry for several weeks—being most kindly cared for by friendly hands. From thence he was borne, on a litter, to Geneva—gentlemen along the route eagerly volunteering as bearers of the litter. All classes, male and female, old and young, gave the wounded hero the kindest greeting as he passed on his painful way. At Geneva he tarried several days to regain strength for the next remove. In this manner, accompanied by his faithful aid and devoted friend, Major Worth, he proceeded, by easy stages, southward, everywhere being received with demonstrations of respect. His name was on all tongues, for the fame of his exploits had gone on before. Extreme feebleness prevented acceptance of public receptions tendered by several cities. At Princeton, New Jersey, the Commencement exercises of New Jersey College occurring when the carriage of the invalid reached that place, Scott was waited upon by the Faculty, and was so earnestly solicited to attend the ceremonies as to allow himself to be borne to the church. His appearance on the stage, pale, emaciated and disabled, gave occasion for the wildest enthusiasm from the great crowd gathered, of the leading inhabitants of the place. The valedictorian of the year referred very handsomely to the "Duties of Citizens in Peace and War," and, most unexpectedly to all, broke forth in eloquent eulogy of the wounded warrior present. It was a surprise for Scott, who bore such praise with less courage than the *oratory* of the enemy's batteries. This pleasant episode ended by the Faculty of the College conferring upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts—a degree as honorable to the discrimination of the officers of that eminent institution as it was merited by the recipient.

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Approaching Philadelphia, he was received by Governor Snyder at the head of a division of militia, who heartily turned out to welcome the soldier. It was at a moment (September, 1814) when both Philadelphia and Baltimore were threatened by the British, and the public looked to him, sick and wounded as he was, as a leader. He plead his incompetency for service, but the Department made him the nominal head of the Pennsylvania and Maryland forces, that his name might inspire the confidence and ardor so necessary to success. He therefore went to Baltimore, where, under the hands of a skillful surgeon, Dr. Gibson, his wounds were eventually healed, though, to this moment, he is crippled in the shoulder.

In October (1814) General Scott took up head-quarters at Washington as Commander of the 10th military district. The winter of 1814-15 was spent there, arranging, in conjunction with the Department and President, the campaign for 1815. It was decided to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor on land and water, and preparations were, accordingly, making for heavy enlistments when the Treaty of Peace arrived, in February.* This, of course, virtually dissolved the war-establishment; but the vast foresight shown by Scott—the eminent ability which he betrayed, not only for command, but also for organization and conduct of the military department—his great personal popularity—induced the newly-elected President (James Monroe) to offer him the Cabinet appointment of Secretary of War. It was an offer quite unexpected to the young General, and was declined, Scott avers, for the reason that he was not *entitled* to such a position of actual seniority over his elder compatriots in arms. Monroe then requested him to accept the post as Acting Secretary until the return from Paris of Wm. H. Crawford, who was to be assigned the position. This request he also declined, actuated by that high sense of honor which has ever characterized his conduct. He would not assume a superiority of rank to which he was not justly entitled by service and commission.† He lent his aid, however, in reducing the

* Signed at Ghent, December 24th, 1814; ratified by the U. S. Senate February 17th, 1815.

† The Secretary, at that time, was considered as the virtual Commander-in-Chief of the army, though the constitution makes the President the Commander-in-Chief of both army and navy.

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army to a peace footing. This done he arranged for the tour of Europe, both for the improvement of his health and for professional information. Our Government was quite anxious so accomplished an officer should have an opportunity of inspecting and studying the military establishments of the great monarchies, that our own might profit by their experiences. This was Scott's only *avowed* commission, though, it afterward transpired, he had instructions of an important diplomatic nature, viz.: to sound the Governments of France, Russia and Great Britain in regard to their views of American polity, and their probable course of conduct toward the Revolutionists in South America and Mexico, who were then struggling for independence of the Spanish crown. Monroe, at that early moment, it would appear from his instructions to Scott, contemplated the principles afterward announced in his well-known declaration known as the "Monroe Doctrine" of the non-intervention of European Governments in the affairs of this continent.

Scott arrived in Europe through England a few weeks succeeding Napoleon's last magnificent struggle for a throne. Having letters to a large number of persons eminent in politics, science and war, he was introduced immediately to those circles best calculated to subserve his purposes. Letters were forwarded from the hero and patriot, Kosciusko, then in Switzerland for his health, giving Scott introduction to Napoleon's Marshals, McDonald, Oudinot, etc., which opened the way for pleasing acquaintances and most valuable information. All celebrated naval establishments, fortresses, arsenals and military schools in France, Belgium and Great Britain were inspected, from which much very valuable information was gleaned that has since been imparted to our own military system. This busy inspection did not prevent a proper discharge of the diplomatic functions committed to his charge. An intimacy with eminent men in diplomatic and ministerial circles gave unusual facilities for learning the views and policy of the monarchies in respect to American affairs, and he acted his part with such good results, that Monroe could not refrain from expressing his great obligations, by letter.

This agreeable and valuable tour of health and observation was ended in the summer of 1816, when the General returned

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home with renewed strength. He was immediately assigned to the important command of the seaboard. New York City then became, and for many years remained, his head-quarters and residence. He wedded (March, 1817) Miss Maria Mayo, a Virginia lady of rare accomplishments of head and heart.

Congress, previous to Scott's departure for Europe, had passed a resolution (November 3d, 1814) requesting the President of the United States "to cause a gold medal to be struck, with suitable emblems and devices and presented to Major-General Scott,* in testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of his distinguished services in the successive conflicts of Chippewa and Niagara, and of his uniform gallantry and good conduct in sustaining the reputation of the arms of the United States." This resolution was not fulfilled until at the close of Mr. Monroe's second term, when a superb gold medal, properly inscribed on the reverse, with a fine relief bust of Scott on the obverse, was presented to the gallant soldier by the President (February 26th, 1825) in the presence of the Cabinet and a large assemblage of distinguished persons, specially invited to the Executive Mansion. The addresses on the occasion were extremely patriotic. In reply to the President, Scott gave utterance to this generous sentiment, recognizing the services of his copatriots in arms:

"If, in the resolve of Congress, or in your address, sir, my individual services have been overestimated, not so the achievements of that gallant body of officers and men, whom in battle it was my good fortune to command, and of whom I am, on this interesting occasion, the honored representative.

"Very many of those generous spirits breathed their last on the fields which their valor assisted to win; and, of the number that happily survive, there is not one, I dare affirm, who will not be ready, in peace as in war, to devote himself to the liberties and the glories of the country."†

The Virginia Legislature (February 12th, 1816) passed a unanimous vote of thanks to Major-General Scott, "for his uniform good conduct in sustaining the military reputation of the United States, in every conflict or engagement in which

* After the conflict at Niagara, while on his way to Philadelphia, the President had promoted him to be Major-General. "Put him down Major-General," said Madison; "I have now done with objections to his youth!" referring to objections he had previously made when Scott's friends had solicited for him the rank of Brigadier-General (May 9th, 1814).

† Mansfield's Biography.

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he was present during the late war," etc., etc. The resolution further provided that the Governor should present to Major-General Scott a "suitable sword, with proper emblems and devices thereon, as a mark of the high opinion this Assembly entertains of his gallantry and distinguished services in the battles of Chippewa and Niagara." Some pleasant and complimentary correspondence passed between Governor Nicholas and the General; but, owing to some unexplained cause, the sword was not presented until 1825. It was a most magnificent weapon, worthy the State and the recipient.

The New York State Legislature, not to be wanting in the expression of its regard for the hero of her border, empowered Governor Tompkins to present a sword to Scott; which was done in the City Hall, New York city, February 25th, 1816 (Evacuation Day), in the presence of a vast concourse of citizens and soldiers. The sword was a noble specimen of American workmanship.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN COMMAND OF THE EASTERN DEPARTMENT—THE JACKSON CORRESPONDENCE—WRITES HIS MILITARY INSTITUTES—PRESIDES AT BOARDS CALLED TO PROPOSE AND ADJUST THE TACTICS OF THE ARMY AND MILITIA—ADVOCATES TEMPERANCE—THE CONTROVERSY ON THE RIGHTS OF BREVET RANK.

FROM the date of his return from Europe (1816) up to the year 1831 General Scott was absorbed in the arduous duties of his command over the department of the Atlantic seaboard. During this time (1817-1823) occurred the correspondence with General Jackson, which, at one time, threatened a meeting on the "field of honor" but was finally closed in amity, and the two soldiers ever after remained friends.

Scott found our army in a semi-organized condition. Its regulations were not digested and harmonious, in the different departments—every general commanding officer having ideas and a system of discipline quite his own. To correct this he was led to the preparation of a manual of practice, which should institute a uniform discipline and system throughout the entire military organization, in all its arms. His "General

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Regulations for the Army, or Military Institutes," in one volume, octavo, was published in 1821. It embodied every thing required in camp, garrison or field service, for militia and regulars, and proved exceedingly acceptable. His previous preparation for such a work insured for it that efficiency, thoroughness and *adaptability* necessary to fit it to our varied necessities and extraordinary circumstances of regular and irregular warfare against foreign foes, Indians, domestic malcontents, etc., etc. No country on the globe offers such service as the soldier must here encounter. That the "Institutes" proved thoroughly available shows the author to have given the matter a vast deal of study. His experience in Europe enabled him to profit by the good in both the English and French systems.

Previous to the appearance of this volume, he had presided at a board of officers called to prepare a system of infantry tactics. The report adopted chiefly embodied the system used in the Buffalo Camp of Instruction. A further elaboration and revision becoming necessary, to extend its application for more general service, a second official board was convened, of which Scott again was president. The report adopted was published in 1825. It embraced the system of the "Institutes," with slight modifications.

In 1826 a third board was ordered, to be composed of distinguished general officers both of the regular and militia service, to decide upon and report for official promulgation:—

A plan for the organization and instruction of the entire militia of the Union—

A system of tactics for artillery—

A system of tactics for cavalry—

A system of infantry and rifle tactics.

The report adopted was drawn up by Scott. It was officially ordered published for the more thorough organization of the militia throughout the country, and soon became "the law" in military circles.

By order of Congress he published, in three, 16mo., volumes (1835), his "Infantry Tactics." It embodied such improvements as had been ingrafted upon the systems of France and Great Britain succeeding the wars of Napoleon.

Scott, having witnessed the demoralizing effects of intem-

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perance, in the army, became an advocate of temperance at a date long prior to the "reformers." In 1821 he published his "Scheme for Restricting the Use of Ardent Spirits in the United States." It was a most able document, and so thoroughly exhaustive in its *practical* argument that few later writers or orators have been able to add to its force. It assumed the stand-point of positive abstinence, and, from the general attention which it commanded from the reading, reflecting public, paved the way for the reform movement, which may be said to have commenced in 1825, under the preaching of Dr. Lyman Beecher.

The controversy with General Gaines, on the rights conferred by *brevet* commissions, occurred in 1828-29. It arose from the following circumstances: Mr. Adams comissioned General Macomb, as well as General Gaines, Major-Generals. Scott claimed that the commission belonged to him from his having been previously *brevetted* Major-General—that a brevet gave rank, and, if so, that his seniority placed him before General Macomb or Gaines. To lay his claims before the country and Congress he memorialized Congress to enact a declaratory statute giving to a brevet the rights of actual rank in order of promotion. This opened up the whole question in Congress, and elicited much controversy in public circles. Congress seemed to regard the brevet as conferring no rank, since it refused to pass the declaratory act asked for by Scott. Whereupon he sent in his resignation—feeling that he was overslaughed. This resignation was placed on file but not accepted, and some months after was withdrawn. From a letter to the Secretary of War, Eaton, dated New York, November 10th, 1829, we may quote:—

"Humbly protesting that this order deprives me of rights guaranteed by those articles* and the uniform practice of the army under them, from the commencement of the government down to the year 1828, when the new construction was first adopted against me; in obedience to the universal advice of my friends, who deem it incumbent on me to sacrifice my own convictions and feelings to what may, by an apt error, be considered the repeated decision of the civil authority of my country, I have brought myself to make that sacrifice, and therefore withdraw the tender of my resignation now on file in your Department.

* 61st and 62d articles of war, relative to rank and command.

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"I also ask leave to surrender the remainder of the furlough the Department was kind enough to extend to me, in April last, and to report myself for duty."

The furlough referred to was granted for a second trip to Europe, made during the summer of 1829, in which he visited France, Belgium, Germany, etc.

The Secretary of War wrote to Scott very cordially, on the 13th November, in reply to his note above quoted. Among other things he said:—

"None will do you the injustice to suppose that the opinions declared by you upon this subject are not the result of reflections and convictions; but, since the constituted authorities of the Government have, with the best feelings entertained, come to conclusions adverse to your own, no other opinion was cherished, or was hoped for, but that, on your return to the United States, you would adopt the course your letter indicates, and with good feelings resume those duties of which she has so long had the benefit."

He was ordered to report for duty, therefore, on the 20th of November, to Commanding General Alexander Macomb, and did so report, when he was assigned to the Eastern department—the charge of which so long virtually had been in his hands. He continued in the discharge of the multifarious and important duties of this trust until ordered to the Western department to assume direction of the hostilities against the Indians under Black Hawk, in Illinois and Iowa.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BLACK HAWK WAR—AWFUL DEVASTATIONS OF THE CHOLERA—SCOTT'S KINDNESS AS A NURSE—GATHERING OF INDIANS AT ROCK ISLAND—TREATY—CASS' LETTER OF THANKS TO SCOTT—RETURN TO NEW YORK—ORDERED BY JACKSON TO THE SOUTH—HISTORY OF THE NULLIFICATION MOVEMENT IN SOUTH CAROLINA—THE LAWS TO BE ENFORCED AT ALL HAZARDS—SCOTT IN COMMAND AT CHARLESTON—HIS REMARKABLE DISCRETION AND ITS GOOD RESULTS—THE TROUBLES PEACEFULLY ENDED.

STARTING for Buffalo in July (1832), with 1,000 troops, *en route* for the scene of hostilities with the Western Indians, the Asiatic cholera broke out among the men and almost paralyzed the expedition. The steamer *Henry Clay*, loaded with troops, put in to Fort Gratiot, on Lake Huron, and,

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out of 400, only 150 were left by the pestilence and the desertion which the fear of it caused. The *Sheldon Thompson*, in which Scott embarked, pushed on to Chicago, her destination, but, out of 220 men and officers, 51 died of the terrible disease. During the few days in which it prevailed, Scott, utterly regardless of his own life or comfort, gave up his time to the duties of a nurse, and did every thing in his power to alleviate suffering.

As soon as the disease abated he hurried forward to the seat of war, joining General Atkinson on the Mississippi river, at Prairie du Chien (August 3d),—the day succeeding the decisive defeat of the Indians under Black Hawk, at Bad Axe, near the mouth of the Iowa river. The troops of Scott, reduced to about 400 followed, as soon as the state of the sick would allow. The entire force soon descended to Rock Island, where the cholera again made its appearance, in its most virulent form, appalling whites and Indians equally. Until September 8th disease and death stalked through camp, carrying off a large number of soldiers and officers. Scott was a "ministering angel," to use the words of one who was present. He spared no exertions to stay the disease, and, by his own calm example, greatly served to allay the fear and terror which it inspired.

The cholera disappeared, very suddenly, after September 8th. Not returning, about the middle of the month the Indians were called in for a final treaty of peace and amity—Scott and Governor Reynolds of Illinois acting, by authority, as United States commissioners. The Sac and Fox nation, the Winnebagoes, Sioux, and Menomonees all were represented, and, after weeks of negotiation two important treaties were signed, which ceded to Government a vast region of fertile territory—now embraced in the States of Iowa and Wisconsin. These duties, well and wisely discharged, won from General Cass—then Secretary of War—the following expression :—

"Allow me to congratulate you, sir, upon this fortunate consummation of your arduous duties, and to express my entire approbation of the whole course of your proceedings, during a series of difficulties requiring higher moral courage than the operations of an active campaign, under ordinary circumstances."*

*Mansfield's Biography.

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Arriving in New York, from the West, in October (1832) Scott had scarcely time for repose when he was summoned to Washington. The nullification of United States revenue laws in South Carolina threatened a conflict of no ordinary character. Government was called upon to exercise extraordinary discretion in the appointment of its agents. Jackson had determined to enforce the laws, even to an invasion of South Carolina with a large army,* but preferred to use every civil means to restore the state to authority ere he resorted to offensive action. Scott was chosen confidential messenger, as appears from an order, issued by the Secretary of War (Lewis Cass) November 18th 1832 by which he was to proceed to Charleston, inspect the forts, Moultrie and Castle Pinckney, provide for any dangers to which they might be exposed by strengthening defenses and reinforcing the garrisons and act in concert with the Collector of the port and the United States District Attorney of South Carolina in fulfillment of the requisitions of the General Government.

Arriving in Charleston November 28th, he found the people in the utmost excitement. Two days previously the Convention ordered by the Legislature to determine upon the course of action of the State, had passed its ordinance of nullification, in which the authority of the Federal Executive was set at defiance, and the state proclaimed superior to the General Government. The 6th section of the instrument declared, that, should the General Government delegate force to enforce the laws, or seek to coerce the State by a blockade of its ports, South Carolina *would consider the Union dissolved, and would proceed to organize a separate government.* It may, therefore, be surmised that Scott's mission was one well calculated to test his patriotism and his wisdom. The people were not to penetrate the purpose of his visit lest they should precipitate a force upon the forts and arsenal ere they could be defended. His custom of annually visiting every fort and arsenal in the department offered a good disguise for his presence, and enabled him to execute his inspections and

* See, for interesting facts concerning this remarkable controversy between a State and the General Government—Niles' Register, vol. 43; Parton's Life of Jackson, etc. Also see, for an interesting expression of Jackson's opinions, the recently published Life of General Sam Dale. Mansfield gives a well digested statement of the matter.

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movements with great completeness, without exciting the suspicions of the State authorities or provoking the temper of the bellicose populace.

He passed on to Augusta and secretly placed the arsenal there in order of defense. The fortifications of Savannah were also quietly reinforced to a state of complete security. This accomplished he returned to Charleston, where a number of armed vessels seemed to drop in *by accident.* These were so disposed as to act promptly in event of emergency. It was determined by the Collector and District Attorney, to collect the revenue under the guns of Fort Moultrie, should the South Carolinians, after February 1st—the time chosen by the "ordinance" to resist the authority of Congress if the revenue law was not modified to suit the tastes of that State —attempt to nullify the laws.

Every thing being thus admirably prepared to enforce the collection of the revenue, Scott sailed for New York where such other steps were taken as were necessary to insure extensive reinforcements of both army and navy if they should be required. Of course the public, generally, knew nothing of these movements:—the newspapers of that day were not so "enterprising" as to pry into the most important secrets of Government, and to publish all they knew and a little more, by adding surmises to facts, to the great detriment of their country. Consequently, Scott again sailed, (late in January, 1833) to Charleston harbor unheralded, and was in Fort Moultrie for a number of days ere the Charlestonians themselves knew of his presence. Then they first awakened to a realizing sense of their condition:—there *were* means, at the disposal of the Federal officers, for *enforcing* the laws, and Scott was to be the instrument of such enforcement.

The nullifiers were extremely angered at this state of affairs, while the Unionists—a strong and powerful party—were delighted. The latter had been somewhat overawed by the violence of the nullifiers, whose party comprised all the worst elements and some of the best elements of the State; but, now that the Government, to which they owed their first allegiance, had shown its ability and *willingness* to protect them, the law and order men came out boldly for the Union and the laws. This threw new force into the excitement,

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and, before February 1st, the people were waging among themselves a storm of factions which, for a while, threatened bloodshed and all the horrors of civil strife.

During this internecine war the United States officers and troops were extremely cautious not to give cause for any outburst of violence toward them, on the part of the excited nullifiers. They treated all courteously, and, even rendered such implicit obedience to orders as not to resent indignities frequently offered them in the streets, and on the waters of the harbor.

The 1st of February came; when the belligerents thought it *prudent* to "wait a little longer" before inaugurating the war with Government, and a few of the leading nullifiers of Charleston, therefore, assembled, just before the 1st of February, to agree *not* to enforce the said "ordinance," passed by convention of the whole State, until after the adjournment of Congress (March 3d). So effectually was the whole movement of resistance to authority in the hands of a few men.

This virtually ended nullification, since it paved the way for the "Compromise Act," which in its turn resulted in the rescinding of the "ordinance" by the Legislature of South Carolina when the state became comparatively quiet. The *partial success* of the "result," however, gave the nucleus to a faction, led by John C. Calhoun, which ever afterward contemned the General Goverment, and, in later years assumed, undisguisedly, the front of treason to the Constitution.

Scott played a most delicate and important part in this matter, for with him really rested the issue of peace or blood. One injudicious act—one hasty word—one failure to take advantage of every opportunity offered for pacification—might have proven fatal to all compromise or adjustment except at the bayonet's point. The Government chose most wisely in sending him thither, and the country has ever felt that his wisdom and prudence averted a conflict between the State and the General Government which must have cost all parties dearly.

Alas, that the same wisdom and prudence had not been permitted the control of affairs in 1860!

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CHAPTER X.

THE FLORIDA WAR—INDIAN AND NEGRO OUTRAGES—SCOTT TAKES COMMAND AGAINST THEM—MARCH OF THE ARMY TO WYTHLACOOCHEE—NO ENEMY FOUND—SCOUTING PARTIES AND THEIR ILL SUCCESS—THE CREEKS IN ARMS—SCOTT SUPPRESSES THEM—IS ORDERED TO WASHINGTON ON CHARGES PREFERRED BY GENERAL JESUP—COURT OF INQUIRY—SCOTT'S COURSE SUSTAINED—HIS SPEECH—JACKSON'S OBSTINACY ILLUSTRATED—HONORS TO SCOTT BY THE PEOPLE.

THE Florida War originated in 1835. The Indians and runaway negroes inhabiting the Everglades, feeling aggrieved with the whites, resolved upon war. Osceola, a half-breed chief, of Creek extraction, commenced the struggle by murdering the Indian agent, General Thompson and several others, under the guns of Fort King. Volunteers were called out, and, with the regulars—in all about two hundred strong, under command of General Clinch — marched against the Indians then quartered upon the Wythlacoochee river. The savages, anticipating the attack, threw themselves upon the whites (December 31st), but were repelled, after a most furious fight. Osceola was the very spirit of carnage, and only drew off his warriors, after extraordinary exhibitions of courage, to gather them for greater combats.

Three days previously, Major Dade's troop, of 112 regulars was almost entirely exterminated by these same warriors—only three of the entire number escaping! This most ferocious slaughter, and the continued murders of planters, burning of houses, destruction of stock, etc., proved the Seminoles to be on the "war-path" in earnest, and called for the exercise of the most rigorous measures, by the Government. Scott was ordered thither, January 20th, 1836, reaching Picolata (near St. Augustine) February 22d, from whence he immediately issued his general orders, constituting the army of operations. The army was organized in three divisions, comprising 1,200 regulars and a strong body of volunteers and militia from the adjoining States. All being arranged the march was taken up for the Wythlacoochee river—the scene of Dade's slaughter and Clinch's encounter with Osceola and his warriors. But, though the country

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was carefully searched, no village or encampment of the savages was discovered, and only occasional small parties of the Seminoles and their more savage allies, the runaway negroes, were met. These would fight fiercely for a while, then flee, baffling all pursuit. The everglades offered a retreat impenetrable to the foot of the white: only the savage, trained to the swamps, could live in their fever-breeding silences, or find food and shelter there.

The army, in its several divisions, came together at Tampa Bay, having passed much to the south of Wythlacoochee, in a vain search for the Indians. Fever-stricken, worn with exhausting marches through morasses and almost impenetrable jungles, hungering for the very necessaries of life, they came into the rendezvous at Tampa, conscious of their inability to conquer climate and disease. It then became apparent that scouting-parties only could be made serviceable in ferreting out the wily enemy. Five parties, therefore, were organized, under the most experienced leaders—Scott assuming command of one—which, taking different routes, still failed to find their foe's head-quarters. Only small parties were occasionally seen, which disappeared as mysteriously as foxes in their burrows after giving the whites a sharp, and not always bloodless, reception.

The campaign was abandoned until a new system of warfare could be instated, viz.: that of making frequent posts and dépôts in the heart of the Indian country, from which small guerrilla-parties should hunt the Indians as tigers would be hunted in their lairs. Scott was convinced that this course only could prove effectual, and that, even if pursued zealously, it would take some time to bring the infuriated savages and wild negroes to terms. How after experiences confirmed his judgment! *

In his report to the Department, (April 30th) he says:

"To end this war I am now persuaded that not less than 3,000 troops are indispensable; 2,400 infantry, and 600 horse; the country to be scoured and *occupied* requiring that number." "Two or three steamers, with a light draught of water, and fifty or sixty barges capable of carrying from ten to fifteen men each" were recommended.

* Mansfield estimates that the Florida War cost the Federal Government 2,000 lives and twenty millions of dollars. Florida, like some other Southern States, would have a nice bank account to square if she was called upon by Uncle Sam to foot her own bills!

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Emissaries of the daring Osceola had been busy among the Creek Indians in Georgia; and hostilities in their country compelled Scott to hasten thither about the middle of May (1836). So vigorously were these malcontents dealt with that, by July, their resistance was, virtually, at an end. Most of the warriors were secured as prisoners, and the tribe was disposed to accept the treaty proposed by the United States Government.

At this time (July 9th) Scott was suddenly and peremptorily recalled to Washington to answer charges preferred by General Jesup, who had written, in a letter to Mr. Blair, that Scott's "course had been destructive to the best interests of the country." This being shown to Jackson, according to Jesup's expressed wish, he hastily ordered Scott home that an inquiry might be made into the *delay* in prosecuting the Creek war (!) and the failure of the campaign against the Seminoles. A most discourteous summons, to say the least, but one entirely characteristic of the irascible President. General Jesup had been censured by Scott for disobedience to orders, and wrote his *belief*, as above quoted, to Mr. Blair, knowing it would reach the President's notice and probably would produce Scott's recall. He guessed shrewdly, awakening in Jackson's bosom the remembrance of his former belligerent feelings toward the General.

Scott immediately posted for Washington. Arrived there he demanded a court of inquiry; but, notwithstanding his desire for an early hearing, not until October 3d did the court assemble, at Frederick, Maryland. It was composed of Major-General Macomb and Brigadier-Generals Brady and Atkinson. After a session, necessarily protracted by delays in the attendance of witnesses called from the South, the court rendered a verdict of entire approval of his course. The Seminole campaign was declared to have been well devised and prosecuted with energy, steadiness and ability. The Creek campaign "was well calculated to lead to successful results, and it was prosecuted, as far as practicable, with zeal and ability until he (Scott) was recalled from the command." Scott conducted his own case before the court. His summing-up speech was a model of earnest eloquence, fearless expression and cogency of conclusion. We may quote from the peroration as it was reported for the "National Intelligencer:"

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"When a Doge of Genoa, for some imaginary offense, imputed by Louis XIV., was torn from his Government and compelled to visit France, in order to debase himself before that inflated monarch, he was asked, in the palace, what struck him with the greatest wonder amid the blaze of magnificence in his view. 'To find *myself* here!' was the reply of the indignant Lescaro. And so, Mr. President, unable, as I am, to remember one blunder in my recent operations, or a single duty neglected, I may say, that to find myself in the presence of this honorable court, while the army I but recently commanded is still in pursuit of the enemy, fills me with equal grief and astonishment.

"And whence this great and humiliating transition? It is, sir, by the fiat of one, who, from his exalted station, and yet more from his unequaled popularity, has never, with his high displeasure, struck a functionary of this Government, no matter what the office of the individual, humble or elevated, who was not from that moment withered in the general confidence of the American people. Yes, sir, it is my misfortune to lie under the displeasure of that most distinguished personage. The President of the United States has said, 'Let General Scott be recalled from the command of the army in the field, and submit his conduct in the Seminole and Creek campaigns to a court for investigation.' And lo! I stand here to vindicate that conduct, which must again be judged in the last resort, by him who first condemned it without trial or inquiry. Be it so. I shall not supplicate this court, nor the authority that has to review the 'opinion' here given. On the contrary, I shall proceed at once to challenge your justice to render me that honorable discharge from all blame or censure which the recorded evidence imperiously demands. With such discharge before him, and enlightened by the same mass of testimony, every word of which speaks loudly in my favor, the Commander-in-Chief of the army and the navy can not hesitate; he must acquiesce, and then, although nothing may ever compensate me for the deep mortification I have been recently made to experience, I may hope to regain that portion of the public esteem which it was my happiness to enjoy on past occasions of deep moment to the power and the glory of the United States of America."*

Scott's exculpation from blame was complete, in the estimation of all military men, and, indeed, in the minds of all classes; but, the burning sense of indignation which *would* word itself in his speech lay like fire upon Jackson's implacable bosom. He had to acquiesce in the judgment of the court, but was none the more pleased for that. He swore, in his own choice grammar, "by the Eternal, the Seminoles and

* Given in Mansfield's Biography at greater length.

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Creeks were *not* whipped quick enough." Like the astute philosopher who, believing the world to be an extended plain, hung the poor men of science who *proved* the world to be a globe, Jackson resolved to believe in himself and therefore positively refused to restore Scott to the command in the South. In this he opposed the earnest wishes of the best of men in and out of Congress, and, doubtless, took a real satisfaction in that opposition; but, the injustice of his course was none the less remarked. In Congress, Richard Biddle, of Pennsylvania, gave the subject a most eloquent exposition—the newspapers took the matter in hand and came to Scott's defense and aid; but, all to no purpose—he was not restored to the command; and General Jackson lived to learn that obstinacy was not the best policy:—it took *six years* of most expensive campaigning under other Generals to subdue the Seminoles.

The feeling excited by this persecution of Scott by the President and General Jesup, was not confined to military and political circles. The people took such interest in the case as to offer the injured General sympathy, in various pleasant ways. A large number of the leading citizens of New York city tendered him a public dinner—an invitation at first accepted but afterward declined, owing to the terrible commercial crisis which came upon the country at that time (May, 1837). The declination called forth from the subscribers for the intended dinner such resolutions of appreciation and consideration as must have been deeply gratifying to the soldier. Similar invitations were extended by citizens of several other cities, but were declined for the same reasons urged in case of the Metropolitan reception—reasons creditable to his heart and to his disinterested regard for the public weal.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE "PATRIOT" WAR—SCOTT'S INSTRUMENTALITY IN ITS SUPPRESSION—ORDERED TO REMOVE THE CHEROKEES—REMARKABLE DISCHARGE OF DUTY—AGAIN ORDERED TO THE NORTHERN FRONTIER TO REPRESS AMERICAN INVASION OF CANADA—HIS SUCCESS—THE MAINE BOUNDARY DISPUTE—SCOTT EMPOWERED TO ACT—PROCEEDS TO MAINE—HIS SAGACIOUS POLICY AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE AFFAIR—WINS THE TITLE OF "THE GREAT PACIFICATOR."

THE "Patriot" war is still fresh in the memory of thousands living along the northern frontier. Originating, like most revolutions, in the fertile brains of uneasy spirits, it at one time threatened to embroil this Government in serious trouble with Great Britain. The yoke of the English crown never has rested easily upon the French inhabitants of the Canadas. They are, almost without exception, rigid Roman Catholics—the English are Protestant: they are purely Gallic in blood—the English are Anglo-Saxon with a strong admixture of the stern Scotch element: they are clannish, uncompromising, unloyal—the English, equally sectional and obstinate, are loyal to their Queen to the last. It is not strange that such negatives should not assimilate, and it is not a matter of surprise that the French, in Lower Canada, should hatch revolt.

Late in 1837 the movement took shape, and broke out into open insurrection. The Canadians in Upper Canada soon caught the infection. The cry of "Freedom and a Confederacy of our own" flew from Quebec to the Georgian wilds. It crossed the frontier to arouse enthusiasm and sympathy. Let the rallying cry only be "Liberty!" and our American population would co-operate in a scheme for invading Siberia if a leader could be found for such a frigid service. The cry of "Freedom for the Canadas from British domination," awakened the echoes "Aye!" from thousands on this side of the line, and it was not long before arms, provisions, troops and means were passing over the border in aid of the insurgents, who were gathered in much strength, at several points, along the southern shore of the Lakes. Co-operation became open and undisguised, so much so that the President

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issued a proclamation for order and neutrality. It fell upon ears deadened to authority—"patriotism" was superior to the claims of law and order.

Late in December (1837) one Van Rensselaer organized a troop of "patriots," and, passing from Schlosser over to Navy Island (British territory) in the Niagara river, occupied it. The steamer *Caroline* was engaged to transport troops, provisions, etc., to the island, from Schlosser. This movement induced the British to make a descent on the steamer—thus to cut off Van Rensselaer's supplies. Unfortunately they acted unadvisedly, for they entered upon American territory to effect their purpose. The *Caroline* was found at the dock in Schlosser, loaded with a mass of curiosity seekers and a few patriots. The crowd was unarmed, and little resistance was offered save by fists and billets of wood. One citizen was killed and eight wounded in the *melée*. Clearing the steamer of her company, she was cut loose and sent over the Falls (Dec. 27th).

This act excited the entire country, for, beyond doubt, it was a *casus belli*. News of the event reached Washington in a few days, when Scott was ordered to the frontier to repress trespass from our side, and prevent further aggressions of the British authorities, while Government took immediate steps to demand atonement of Great Britain for the outrage on the *Caroline*. He hastened to the Niagara frontier accompanied by Governor Marcy, of New York, by whom volunteers were furnished for any emergency which might arise. Scott determined to act to the fullest extent of his authority in suppressing American co-operation with the revolutionists. His sudden appearance on the scene caused considerable stir among the "patriots," who soon became painfully aware of their liability to arrest and imprisonment. In consequence, their movements were considerably restricted, and the spring of the year 1838 found them disorganized and powerless.

Immediately after the affair of the *Caroline*, British troops gathered in considerable force, opposite the western end of Navy Island, where three armed schooners were also anchored, to intercept the passage up the river of the steamer *Barcelona*. This steamer had been taken from Buffalo down to Schlosser for the use of the forces still on Navy Island. Scott had,

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however, forestalled the "patriots," by chartering her before they could arrange to indemnify her owners from loss. He immediately ordered her to return to Buffalo, at the same time advising the British commander that he should instantly repel any attack made in American waters upon our vessels or citizens. The little steamer came up (January 16th), in the American channel of the river. Scott had anchored a battery opposite the Canadian encampment, prepared to open fire the moment the British should throw a ball at the *Barcelona*. This determined action caused them to let the steamer pass, although fires were lit and matches were ready, for the bombardment, on both sides.

The day previous (January 15th) Van Rensselaer and his troop of a few gentlemen and many vagabonds, had recrossed from the island to the American shore, where they were arrested by the U. S. Marshal, acting under Scott's orders.

During the winter Scott was tireless in his efforts to appease popular excitement along the frontier, and to prevent infractions of the neutrality laws. He had to co-operate with him Generals Brady, Wool, Worth and Eustis, who were placed in charge of special sections of the border, while he passed to and fro along the entire line, from Detroit to Vermont, exercising his authority, unaided by troops, against a populace determined upon giving aid and comfort to the Canadians. His exertions were crowned with success, so far as to save the Americans from actual trespass. By April the British authorities succeeded in suppressing the revolt for the moment.

Scott acted throughout, with great prudence and wisdom, and was freely complimented for his services. Probably no other man in America could have stayed, so effectually, the rush to arms on this side of the border—an act which, if it had not been repressed, would have involved the United States in a war with the British crown. His great personal popularity, his tireless vigilance, his numberless speeches, his firmness and unconquerable will bore all before him; and the revolution in Canada was paralyzed as much from want of co-operation on this side of the Niagara and the Lakes as from the determined action of the British Government in suppressing the rebellion by force of arms and by banishing the leaders of the movement to Van Dieman's Land.

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Passing from the North to Washington, in March, Scott was ordered almost instantly on another mission requiring the exercise of all his noblest qualities. The Cherokee Indians had refused to vacate their lands in the Southern States at the bidding of the General Government, and Scott was commissioned to remove them peaceably if possible, but by force if necessary, to beyond the present State of Arkansas.

By the 10th of May he was at the Cherokee agency in Tennessee, from whence he immediately issued an address to the Indians, and a general order to his troops. Both instruments were models of their kind. The Indians were exhorted to reconcile themselves to their fate and to spare the necessity of force in their removal. Every thing was provided to facilitate their emigration, even to nurses for the sick and disabled. The soldiers were ordered to practice the utmost humanity and patience, to act at all times with decision, but to show mercy to all—a patience and mercy which, under the watchful eye of their General, were practiced to the most remarkable extent.

These orders were followed by prompt and vigorous action. The Indians were borne, with their families and personal effects (in some instances of considerable amount) to the general depôt. By the middle of June all the Georgia Cherokees were ready for removal to the country allotted the tribe in the Indian Territory beyond Arkansas. The Cherokees in North Carolina, Alabama and Tennessee were called upon; and, though the warriors and chiefs of the nation were hostile to the forced emigration, by the middle of July all the tribe was in at the depôts ready for a start. But the start could not be made, owing to a great drouth which had availed to render the rivers unnavigable. Scott, therefore, on his own responsibility, ordered them to remain. He quartered them in three vast camps, and, by the admirable arrangements adopted, secured their comfort and health. He pitched his tent in their midst and soon became regarded, as he was,—the good-spirit of the fifteen thousand emigrants. In November the line of March was taken up for the West. Scott followed the last detachment as far as Nashville, to see that all was conducted properly by the agents appointed for the transportation.

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While engaged in this humane duty he was suddenly called, a second time, to the Canadian frontier. As winter approached, it became evident that the "patriots" would again give trouble. It is said they were organized to the number of 80,000, under the general leadership of Alexander McLeod, and only awaited the freezing of the Lakes and Detroit river to precipitate themselves over the boundary and seize the government in Upper Canada. Scott hastened north by way of Cincinnati—reaching Cleveland in December. From thence he passed rapidly on to Detroit, taking Sandusky in his way, where were gathered a large body of the patriots under command of Major Lawton and Captain Anderson, who were anticipating the freezing of the lake in order to take possession of Point au Pelee Island—British territory in Lake Erie. This new outbreak comprised many excellent men in its ranks, while its directors and officers were not without means and influence. It therefore required all Scott's wisdom to thwart their schemes. So successfully did he labor, however, that, as during the previous winter, his efforts were crowned with success. McLeod's arrest closed the drama of insurrection.

Scarcely had this duty been performed when he learned of the threatening aspect of affairs in the Disputed Territory—as it was called—on the unadjusted line of boundary between the State of Maine and New Brunswick. He hurried to Washington for orders. There all was interest and excitement relative to the matter. The President (Van Buren), in a special message to Congress, related the history of the case, and thought it necessary for Congress to act at once. An act was soon introduced (February 26th), passed, signed and approved (March 3d), authorizing the President to call out the militia for a six months' service, and to accept 50,000 volunteers—if that number should prove necessary to repel British encroachments on the Maine boundary. Ten millions of dollars were appropriated to carry out the provisions of the act.

This remarkable bill shows how imminent of danger the emergency was regarded. Scott was greatly instrumental in fixing the provisions of the act. His succeeding conduct showed that he acted with consummate tact. He wished the force of argument which would come of 50,000 men and ten millions of money.

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He started for the North immediately upon the passage of the act. Passing through Massachusetts he tarried for a brief interview with Governor Edward Everett, by whom he was introduced to the State Council, and the following sentences, according to Mansfield, were uttered:—

"We place unlimited reliance on your spirit, energy and discretion. Should you, unhappily, fail in your efforts, under the instructions of the President, to restore harmony, we know that you are equally prepared for a still more responsible duty. Should that event unhappily occur, I beg you to depend on the firm support of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

Noble Massachusetts! Ever ready to give her "firm support" in the preservation of the honor and liberty of the Union! Scott responded, evidently by authority, that the President had full reliance "on the patriotism and public spirit of Massachusetts to meet any emergency which might arise."

Scott passed on to Augusta, Maine, where the Legislature was then in session. He was received in the Legislative Hall (March 7th) by the leading citizens of the State, by members of the Legislature and the Executive. The reception was most honorable to the State, and highly propitious for the settlement of the troubles which Scott secretly designed.

We need not here narrate the *processes* of adjustment finally made of the ominous difficulty. Scott acted the part of an able diplomat rather than of a soldier. When we remember that the people of Maine were so highly incensed against New Brunswick as actually to have ordered troops on to the disputed section, to drive off *all* trespassers—that the English Governor of New Brunswick was equally determined to keep possession of the territory in dispute, we may well suppose Scott had a most unpropitious field for the exercise of his ministerial skill. But, he was equal to the emergency, and addressed himself to the work with so much zeal, discretion and intelligent comprehension of all the bearings of the controversy, that he had the honor of peacefully reconciling the dispute *ad interim*, leaving the boundary to be fixed by a commission of the two General Governments.*

* It is to be regretted that, in the history of our diplomacy, (American State Papers) the correspondence between General Scott and Sir John Hervey is not given at length. There can be no *proper* understanding of the Maine boundary dispute and settlement if the letter of Scott of March

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CHAPTER XII.

THE TEST OF TRUE GREATNESS—SCOTT'S PRIVATE CHARACTER—HIS POSITION BEFORE THE PEOPLE AS A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY—HIS VIEWS ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS—HIS VIEWS ON SLAVERY—OPPOSES THE ADMISSION OF TEXAS AND SEES WAR IN THE ACT OF ANNEXATION.

In tracing the mere acts of a public character we are apt to lose sight of the personal and social position occupied by the individual—the man is lost in his office. It may be a safe principle of economy to preach "principles, *not* men;" but, after all, we want to know the heart and soul of the person as we would know those of an acquaintance, since, by no other knowledge can we arrive at a *just* estimate of capacity, character and acts. Napoleon looms up grandly as General, Consul, Dictator, Emperor, Conqueror and Exile, and the record of his life reads like a sublime epic; but, how immeasurably it is qualified when we look into the heart of the man! Selfish, proud, irreligious, devoid of humanity and pure affection, treacherous, unscrupulous,—the "Prince" of Machiavelli on a gigantic scale—how his courage, majesty of intellect, resource of strategy, endurance, capacity for government and command are toned down until quite in the background of the canvas! It is for the biographer to lift the vail, even though it should throw too much light upon the life of the subject for the apotheosis of his memory:—it is his office to dispel illusion, not to create nor maintain it.

Passing a long life in camp and command, like all men to whom great trusts are confided, Scott has won enemies as well as friends. His very positive qualities, indeed, are calculated to make enemies of those less devoted to discipline, less disinterested in the discharge of duty than himself. But, it is not denied by his enemies, in and out of the army, that, as a Christian gentleman—as a person of the strictest moral principle

21st, 1839, to Sir John is not given, together with the reply of the British Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, and the acceptance of Governor Fairfield of Maine. Scott won for himself in that service the title of PACIFICATOR. Even before his journey to Augusta, Caleb Cushing, in a speech in Congress on the volunteer and appropriation bill, had referred to the General as a "distinguished Pacificator," in consideration of his successes on the Canada frontier and in the removal of the Cherokees. He truly earned the honorable recognition.

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and probity—as a generous friend and humane foe—as a sincere patriot—as a devoted, loving father and husband—as one ever ready for work of charity and relief—as one unostentatious and temperate in his habits, he is entitled to the admiration so freely bestowed upon him in those circles where he is intimately known. He is proud, but it is the pride of a truly noble, honest, truthful nature. He is emulous of fame, and what sublime soul is not? He is ambitious, but rather from its honors than from its place and rewards. He welcomes great emergencies and loves action and command, for they demand the exercise of his utmost energies, his best powers. Judged by the standard which we are permitted to apply to those who act of necessity an important part in the events of the time, we are not claiming too much to pronounce him one of the most estimable of men.

The consideration with which General Scott's qualities of head and heart were regarded, at this era of his life (1839), may be inferred from the fact that many leading members of the great and powerful Whig party looked to him as their candidate for the Presidency, and his name was, accordingly, presented at the nominating convention, held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, December 4th, 1839. Harrison received the nomination—Clay and Scott being his competitors. On the ballot preceding the last, the vote cast for Scott was, New York, forty-two; New Jersey, six; Connecticut, six; Vermont, six; Michigan, three. The nomination of Harrison met with the hearty indorsement of Scott, who had, previous to the convention, advised his friends to support first Clay, then Harrison, if either of them promised success with the people. How wisely the convention selected was demonstrated in the extraordinary majority by which Harrison was elected.

The untimely death of Harrison in 1841 created a most profound sensation, in all circles. By none was he mourned more deeply than by General Scott, who truly admired the patriot, the able General, and the Christian man. The death of Major-General Macomb quickly followed (June 25th) that of Harrison. This left Scott senior Major-General and commander of the army of the United States. The important trust scarcely added to his position, for already he had won a first place in the regard and confidence of the people by his remarkable military and civic services.

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The death of Harrison turned the public mind to speculations regarding his successor in the Presidency. Scott was the particular favorite of those who believed great military talent a desideratum in the head of the nation—the class who had helped to swell the majority of General Harrison to its enormous returns. With others Mr. Clay was the chosen champion. Only these two were prominently named. In consequence, both became the recipients of numerous communications relating to their position on this and that question, preparatory to action in their behalf by directing members of the Whig party in different sections of the country. To answer these inquiries more fully, and to economize valuable time, Scott had a circular prepared, in which were expounded his views upon the leading questions of the times. It was thoroughly *committal*—quite in contrast with the caution practiced by the more politic politician, whose *art* is to conceal rather than to confess. He occupied strong "Whig" ground. Upon the strength of this circular reply his name was run up by numerous papers throughout the country as their candidate, subject to the decision of the National Convention. The Pennsylvania State Whig Convention, assembled in the summer of 1842, gave his name the preference, and so indicated by resolutions. He addressed a letter, however, to a committee of gentlemen (September 22d, 1842)—by whom an invitation had been extended for his attendance upon a grand gathering of the Whigs of Ohio and Kentucky, to be held at Dayton—expressing so decided a preference for Mr. Clay that it was construed (as it doubtless was meant) to be a withdrawal of his name from the canvass. A letter written by him, under date of February 9th, 1843, to a slaveholder in Virginia regarding his views on the question of American slavery, was widely copied, not only because it expounded the author's opinions of the institution, but for the reason that it represented the views, pretty clearly, of the mass of the great Whig party, particularly in the Northern States—views more favorable to the abolishment of slavery in the District of Columbia than those entertained by Mr. Clay. He strongly approved of the principle of emancipation, and looked to it as the ultimate remedy for eradicating the relations of master and slave. He said:

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"I am persuaded that it is a high moral obligation of masters and slaveholding States to employ all means not incompatible with the safety of both colors, to meliorate slavery even to extermination."

"I suppose I scarcely need say that, in my opinion, Congress has no color of authority, under the Constitution, for touching the relation of master and slave."

"I do but *suggest* the remedies and consolations of slavery, to inspire patience, hope and charity on all sides. The mighty subject calls for the exercise of all man's wisdom and virtue, and these may not suffice without aid from a higher source."

With regard to slavery in the territories (a question not then agitated) he says nothing; but, presuming upon the general spirit manifested in the communication, and the tenor of his argument to excuse the relations of master and slave, it is fair to infer that he opposes the extension of an institution which he would emancipate, "even to extermination."

He mixed very little in politics during the campaign of 1844, not only owing to disinclination for political excitement, but to the absorbing nature of his duties. He earnestly deprecated the annexation of Texas to the Federal Union, knowing the act would result inevitably in an expensive war with Mexico. But the American people, ever eager for excitement, and proud to extend the area of their country, became enthusiastic in favor of the annexation, elected Mr. Polk as the annexationist candidate, and shouldered the enormous responsibility of fighting for the very territory they had "annexed"—to say nothing of assuming all her disabilities in the shape of many millions of a debt, an unfortified frontier of vast extent, a populace unable to protect their homes from the savages, bad harbors to render commercially available, etc. All this Henry Clay and the Whig party strenuously struggled against, and none were less surprised at the war and expense which followed than those who had striven to avoid it by the easy method of not accepting the Pandora Box tendered by the Texan "Republic."

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE MEXICAN WAR—THE EMEUTE BETWEEN SCOTT AND THE PRESIDENT—PERSECUTION OF SCOTT—IS FINALLY ORDERED TO MEXICO—DESIGN TO CREATE THE OFFICE OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL TO SUPERSEDE SCOTT—IT IS FRUSTRATED—SCOTT AT THE RIO GRANDE.

GENERAL SCOTT was ordered to the scene of war, in Mexico, by the Department, November 23d, 1846. Previous to this General Taylor had achieved brilliant victories in Northern Mexico. As early as May, of that year, when news reached Washington that the Mexicans had crossed the Rio Grande, Scott had been ordered to assume chief command of the Army of Occupation which Government had resolved to create. But, fully trusting Taylor's ability to conduct the campaign, which he had opened so brilliantly, to a final complete success, his chief was unwilling to snatch from him the laurels so honestly his own, and requested of the Department, that, instead of taking the command from Taylor, he (Scott) might be permitted to organize a strong force during the summer, with which to join Taylor, in the fall, for carrying forward the war into the heart of Mexico. This disagreement with the policy of Mr. Polk and his Cabinet was regarded by them, it seems, as a captious refusal, for political purposes, to carry out their schemes upon Mexico, and the order for his services was rather curtly and unceremoniously countermanded. Scott did not relish this construction of his views and purposes, and wrote, at length to the President to prove that his plans were those of mature judgment, made with a full desire to push the war with Mexico to an energetic and honorable conclusion. If his communication did not suffice to convince the President and his advisers, succeeding events demonstrated the wisdom of the General's plan. Taylor and his brother officers, learning by due course of mail of Scott's deferential action, hastened to assure him of their desire that he should assume the chief command—feeling that they had to encounter obstacles which would require all their united wisdom and courage to overcome. This kindly request, together with the approach of the proper season for operations, induced

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Scott to signify to the Department his willingness to assume the command. So indisposed, however, were Mr. Polk and his Cabinet to allow Scott any exercise of authority in the matter, that they not only refused his request, but, it would appear, had resolved upon creating the new office of Lieutenant-General—to *supersede* both Scott and Taylor in authority and command. To such lengths does partisan spirit lead its devotees! The Administration would set aside the old hero and his noble coadjutor on the Rio Grande and create an office, which, bestowed upon a fellow-partisan, would give the supreme control of affairs into other hands than those of the old and scar-worn *régime* of the regular army! What a return for forty years of such service as Scott had rendered his country! The designs of the Executive of course were kept from the knowledge of the people.

A change of mind after a while apparently occurred; for, as stated above, the General-in-Chief was ordered to the scene of action in November. His instructions met with his hearty concurrence, for while they admitted of the prosecution of the campaign upon an energetic and comprehensive scale, they seemed to assure the Commander-in-Chief that the Administration had recovered from its *miff*. Thenceforward the way seemed clear. How mistaken were his hopes a few days revealed. Scarcely had he departed for New York, for the Rio Grande by steamer, ere the designs of the Executive were developed. Immediately upon the assembling of Congress, the scheme to appoint a grade above Scott, and thus supersede as well as disgrace him, was announced. It of course, created a storm in and out of Congress, and so sudden was the revulsion that Mr. Polk was unable to press the measure through a House largely "Democratic." Many members of that party, to their honor, would not, even at the bidding of their leaders, be dragooned into consummating the outrage upon the old soldier. If any man merited the new honor it was Scott himself.

Arriving at the Rio Grande, Scott first learned of the infamous scheme hatched for his ruin. What was he to do? Tarry in command of an army which the President, by his efforts to supersede him, had declared him unfit to command? Or, proceed in the discharge of his duty, and, with the meager

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army at his disposal, prosecute the daring campaign which he had planned—of carrying the war into the heart of Mexico? His duty first—his honor last, seems to have been his impelling motive, for, though much dispirited by that "attack in the rear," he pressed the preparations for the descent on Vera Cruz. Brantz Mayer says:—

"The enterprise of General Scott was one of extraordinary magnitude and responsibility. With his usual foresight he determined that he would not advance until the expedition was perfectly complete in every essential of certain success. Nothing was permitted to disturb his equanimity or patient resolution in carrying out the scheme as he thought best. He weighed all the difficulties and dangers of the adventure, and placed no reliance upon the supposed weakness of the enemy. This was the true, soldier-like view of the splendid project; and if, at the time, men were found inconsiderate enough to blame him for procrastinating dalliance, the glorious result of his enterprise repaid him for all the petty sneers and misconception with which his discretion was undervalued by the carpet knights at home."

This is the just tribute of a close and disinterested observer:—that it was verified by its results the "carpet knights" soon freely admitted. Santa Anna, who was at San Luis Potosi with a formidable force (about 20,000 strong) ready to precipitate himself upon Taylor, was held in momentary check by the arrival of Scott with his supposed reinforcements. Having seized and assassinated Lieutenant Ritchie, Scott's bearer of dispatches to Taylor, the Mexican chief became aware of the entire plans of the campaign. It was a matter of doubt, therefore, what was best to do. To take from the army the 12,000 men positively required for the enterprise on Vera Cruz would so weaken Taylor, on his extended line of defense, as to imperil the 10,000 men remaining under his command, as well as risk the positions already conquered at the cost of so much blood. A communication with Taylor was had. That invincible heart while deploring the necessity for reducing his forces, bade Scott forward on Vera Cruz, and, with his depleted force, prepared to hold his own against the enemy. His dispatches to Government breathed the resolution to do his best, but did not, also, fail to throw any disaster which might follow upon the Department for its

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shameful failure to provide troops adequate to the necessities of the great enterprises undertaken. Fortunately for the country the well-laid scheme of politicians, for the ruin of Scott by leaving him helpless to prosecute his campaign, found in Taylor a man ready to dare inconceivable dangers to support his chief.

The wily Santa Anna was not long in deciding upon his course. It was to annihilate Taylor, then to hurry down to Vera Cruz—which he was sure could hold out for several weeks—and annihilate Scott. Of this Taylor was advised, and he prepared to be "annihilated" by making the best disposition possible. His lines stretched from Monterey to Agua Nueva, beyond Saltillo. On February 21st, the Mexicans, 17,000 strong, came upon the pass at Angostura where the brave Wool was posted with 4,690 men. A two days' battle followed—one of the most obstinate and brilliantly conducted affairs in modern warfare. The Mexican General was signally defeated, and retired, with the remnant of his fine army, upon San Luis Potosi, while Taylor, with his now still further reduced forces, fell back upon Monterey and his garrisons along the Rio Grande, to act only on the defensive. Government had thus doomed him to a mere garrison life when he should have had forces adequate to follow up his enemy, thus to prevent Santa Anna from throwing all his strength against Scott's small army.

CHAPTER XIV.

SIEGE OF VERA CRUZ—AWFUL DESTRUCTION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY—CITY AND CASTLE SURRENDER—MARCH TO THE INTERIOR—BATTLE OF CERRO GORDO—REMARKABLE BRAVERY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS—SANTA ANNA'S DEFEAT—THE PURSUIT TO JALAPA—JALAPA OCCUPIED—THE CITY AND STRONG CASTLE OF PEROTE TAKEN—ADVANCE UPON PUEBLA—ARMY REDUCED TO FIVE THOUSAND MEN—HEAD-QUARTERS AT PUEBLA, PENDING NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE BY COMMISSIONER FROM WASHINGTON.

HAVING determined upon his arrangements, all dispatch was used to forward the expedition against Vera Cruz; but, it was March 7th before the troops were ready to sail from the general rendezvous on the island of Lobos—one hundred and twenty miles north of the point of attack. One hundred and

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sixty-three vessels, gathered with great labor, were employed as transports. Having carefully reconnoitered the harbor and its vicinity, in a small steamer under command of Commodore Conner, the Commander-in-Chief selected, as the place of debarkment of his entire forces, a spot near the city, on the coast opposite the island of Sacrificios. A landing was safely effected on the 9th. The enemy it was, of course, expected would dispute the debarkment to the utmost, but no opposition was experienced—the spot chosen being unexpected to the Governor, Morales—except the firing of shot and shells from the city fortresses and Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa. Not a life was lost in the landing, so admirably ordered was it, notwithstanding it was made on the open coast, and, of necessity, with rapidity.

The investment of the city proceeded at once. The engineers had obtained such explicit data of the topography of the city and adjacent country as to enable the General to locate each section and regiment with the precision of actual survey. But, the impossibility of unshipping the guns, owing to the prevalence of heavy winds, rendered a delay necessary in anchoring the batteries. The men, in the mean time, were working like pack-horses, carrying on their backs, over the deep sand, their provisions, munitions, etc., to their various positions—many of them several miles away. The wind having abated somewhat on the 17th, heavy guns and mortars were landed and immediately mounted and dragged to their allotted places. By the 22d the investment was so far progressed as to warrant Scott in making a demand of the Governor of the city for its surrender. The demand was refused, when the mortar battery, planted within eight hundred yards of the city walls, opened its fire on the city, continuing it, with slight intermission, during the entire siege. New batteries were constantly opened as guns arrived. By the 25th the bombardment was awful in the extreme. The fleet, under command of Commodore Perry, furiously engaged the Castle. Both city and Castle made a desperate and most gallant defense. But, neither stone walls nor valor could stand before that fearful storm of iron, which literally rained upon the doomed city and forts. Vera Cruz was actually *riddled*, and its people, old and young, male and female, perished in great

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numbers by the dire disaster—so much so that the foreign consuls memorialized Scott (on the 25th) for a truce, to enable the women, children, and non-combatants to leave the city. Scott had, apparently, but one answer to give:—under the rules of war a truce could only be granted on application of the Governor of the city. Ample time and warning had been given, during the progress of the investment, for all women, children and unarmed residents to leave—a warning which some had embraced: those who *preferred* to stay could *not* be granted a *special* truce, at that vital moment of the siege, no matter what their claims upon the humanity of the General responsible for the issue of the action.* Had Governor Morales asked that truce, how quickly it would have been granted! With him rested the responsibility of the continuance of the slaughter, according to all the usages and rules of war.

On the morning of the 26th, General Landero, by order of Morales, made overtures for capitulation, when the firing at once ceased. All preliminaries were arranged, and, on the night of March 27th articles of capitulation were signed—Generals Worth and Pillow and Colonel Totten acting as the American commissioners. Scott's official dispatches to Government, dated the 29th, announced that the stars and stripes were waving over the walls of Vera Cruz and the Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa. The Mexican flag was hauled down at ten A. M. of that day, and General Worth assumed, for the moment, the rights of the late Governor over the city and Castle.

The loss of the Americans was very small, owing to the care bestowed upon the batteries and trenches, in their construction. Scott's first and last care was for his troops, and the same spirit prevailed among all the officers. The Mexican loss was very heavy, both in the Castle and city fortresses; while, to add to the sad record, it is estimated that several hundred women, children and neutrals perished.† Many

* This refusal to grant a truce has been regarded by some writers as an exhibition of great cruelty and inhumanity on the part of Scott. Mr. William Jay, in his work on the Mexican War viewed from a Christian stand-point, is especially severe on the Commander-in-Chief, but, we must feel, is most unjustly censorious.

† The entire loss never has been accurately stated. The number is fixed by Ripley and Brantz Meyer at about 1,000 slain and mortally wounded, in the city and fortresses.

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most affecting incidents are related, of the misfortunes of that dreadful time. The city was almost ruined—scarcely a building in it which had not been shattered. Five thousand prisoners were surrendered, together with nearly five hundred pieces of excellent artillery and five thousand stand of arms. Private property was scrupulously protected. Scott soon restored a settled order in affairs; opened the long-closed port to the commerce of the world; enacted a moderate tariff of duties on imports, and otherwise administered for the well-being of the place and its defenses. The ports of Alvarado and Tclacotlalpam (south of Vera Cruz) were taken—Commodore Perry having been dispatched, with the fleet, against them. Tuspan, to the north, Perry was commissioned to take at his convenience. All this accomplished, the march upon the city of Mexico was commenced.

Santa Anna, after his defeat by Taylor at the pass of Angostura, (Buena Vista, the battle is improperly called) retired upon San Luis Potosi with less than half of his original army. The defeat so thoroughly demolished his troops that the movement south to the relief of Vera Cruz was impossible. He therefore hurried off to the Capital where a political commotion required his presence. Having succeeded in reconciling the differences among the factions, he started forward to oppose Scott's onward march. In a proclamation to his people, he said:—"I swear, that if my wishes are seconded by an earnest and unanimous effort, Mexico shall conquer! A thousand times fortunate for the nation shall the fall of Vera Cruz be, if the loss shall awaken, in Mexican bosoms, the stern enthusiasm, the disinterested ardor of a pure patriotism." Proceeding eastward, gathering together volunteers, robber-bands, guerrillas and the remnants of his scattered army, he prepared to dispute the passage of the Americans through the gorge at Cerro Gordo height, seven leagues west of Jalapa, where the national road first strikes the mountains.

The onward movement from Vera Cruz commenced April 8th, General Twiggs' division (regulars) taking the advance, Patterson's volunteers following. Three days' march brought them to the mountain, at Cerro Gordo, where the enemy was discovered to have made a stand. The heights around bristled with bayonets, while very numerous and strong batteries

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frowned from commanding positions. A reconnoissance was made by Twiggs, on the 12th, when he determined upon a front attack for the 13th. Patterson coming up, however, resolved to await General Scott's orders. He arrived on the 14th, and immediately made a bold and thorough second reconnoiter, accompanied by General Beauregard and Colonel Lee. His keen eye caught the full strength of the most admirably disposed enemy, and his ingenuity was tasked to outflank those impregnable positions. It was resolved to cut a road around the base of the mountain, thus to approach the Mexican lines from the side and rear. But two days were consumed in this most arduous and surprising undertaking, which was not discovered by the enemy until its completion on the 17th, when they instantly opened a heavy fire of grape and musketry upon the laborers. Twiggs was ordered to advance to engage the enemy in front. This was done with remarkable spirit by Colonel Harney, who succeeded in carrying the hill below the main position, which was retained. All was now prepared for the general assault. This was made on the 18th. Pillow's brigade was given the Mexicans' right intrenchment—Twiggs' brigade the left, as it already had the advance. It was to be assisted by Brigadier-General Shields' volunteers, as occasion required. General Worth's brigade was to follow up Twiggs. Scott's general order of the day specified the position and duty of each brigade with such accuracy that it is regarded by military men as a remarkable instance of sagacious foresight, while it also shows that the troops were so well officered and disciplined as to render the performance of an allotted duty a matter of course.

The height of Cerro Gordo loomed up loftily above all the enemy's other positions, and was, therefore, the key to the entire battle-ground. All night long, during the 17th–18th, the men of Twiggs' division were dragging heavy guns up the lower height, which Colonel Harney had secured. A heavy twenty-four pounder and two twenty-four howitzers were placed in position, by three A. M. Relays of five hundred men did this truly Herculean labor.

When the morning broke the enemy perceived the daring designs against them, and immediately opened their fire. It

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was answered by Twiggs' battery. Soon the order passed:—"Storm the height above!" Harney was chosen for that duty; with his rifles, the 1st artillery, the 7th infantry, he pushed up the hill in the midst of an appalling fire. Supporting him, further on to the right, were the 2d and 3d infantry and 4th artillery. The men fairly melted away before that hail of heavy balls and musketry. But on—on Harney moved—on to the very muzzles of the enemies' guns. The battery was gained. Then came the hand-to-hand struggle. The Mexican lancers did fearful execution with their ugly weapons, but they were shot and sabered with a fury which not even their quadruple numbers could withstand, and they soon gave way. A shout went up—then the American colors appeared above the ramparts:—the height of Cerro Gordo was won—the victory secured. The enemy flew along the national road toward Jalapa, to find Shields and his volunteers already there to cut in pieces their flying columns. Shields was shot through the lungs, but his men bore all before them, storming a fort thrown across the highway, then pursuing the routed ranks.

Pillow's assault upon the enemy's right was repulsed upon the first attempt. The fire of La Vega's batteries was too furious to withstand. When Cerro Gordo fell, however, he was at the mercy of its guns, and surrendered with his 3,000 excellent soldiers. Santa Anna and Canalizo, with 8,000 men, were pursued far toward Jalapa by the reserve under Worth.

The results of the victory were embarrassing to Scott, for they cumbered him with prisoners, artillery, munitions, and the baggage of an army of 17,000 men. The artillery secured embraced forty-three valuable and beautiful bronze guns cast in Seville, Spain. The small-arms were destroyed—the guns and baggage sent back to Vera Cruz—the prisoners were paroled.

Throughout that terrible fray Scott was in the midst of his men. He stood by Harney when the charge was made, and watched its every step, since on it depended the issue of the day. He was seen by Captain Totten "under a canopy of balls"—he was everywhere that his presence was required; and, under his eye men and officers vied in deeds of valor.

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Santa Anna's private carriage was secured. It contained, besides specie, his private papers and wardrobe. The specie was retained—the papers and wardrobe were carefully preserved, and dispatched to the discomfited commander.

After the battle, the American columns pushed rapidly on. Jalapa was entered April 19th. La Hoya, a very strong position beyond, was incontinently abandoned by its garrison. The city and the strong castle of Perote were surrendered to Worth by Colonel Velasquez, April 22d. Immense stores of arms and munitions were found there. Garrisoning these positions as they were secured, Scott threw Worth forward to Puebla, which the astounded enemy were not able to hold. Worth occupied it on the 12th of May, after a severe conflict with 3,000 men under Santa Anna, at Amazoque. The Mexican Commander-in-Chief hastened toward his capital, resolved to make its vicinity and approaches the scene of his most desperate defense. "War to the knife," says Mayer, was the rallying cry of the nation.

Scott entered the beautiful and famed city of Puebla, at the head of his troops—now reduced by losses, garrisons, sickness, and discharged volunteers whose term of enlistment (one year) expired on the march from Jalapa to Puebla, to about 4,500 effective men. This number was increased by re-enlistments and detachments from the hospitals in the rear, to about 5,000 —which was the entire army at the General's disposal for conquering the enemy in his strongholds of renowned strength.

CHAPTER XV.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR A PEACE—THEIR FAILURE—THE MARCH ON THE CITY FROM PUEBLA—ARRIVAL AT THE LAKES—THE RECONNOISSANCE—MARCH AROUND THE LAKE.

THE negotiations referred to were in the hands of Mr. Nicholas P. Trist—a most able and estimable man, thoroughly conversant with the Spanish language and experienced in *Mexican* diplomacy—a diplomacy which, at that time, was

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remarkable chiefly for its duplicity, insecurity and want of authority. What one leader or faction treated for, a second leader or faction would abrogate. No agreement seemed binding, for no authority could be found which assured permanency. The idea of "treating for a peace," even when the Mexican General was without an army, was one of weakness and folly, at the best; but it was entertained by Mr. Polk; and General Scott held all further operations in abeyance until the "negotiations" were ended.

A communication was dispatched from Puebla to the Mexican Government, by Mr. Trist, through the British minister. Congress was called immediately, by the authorities, to pass upon the question of peace or war. By July 13th a quorum was barely assembled, when it resolved that it was the duty of the Executive to treat and make alliances—that Congress could only approve or disapprove of them as they were submitted by their lawful President (Dictator). This threw upon Santa Anna the responsibility of receiving Mr. Trist's propositions. But, that wily chief resolved *not* to assume the trust, and threw himself upon the mandatory decree passed by Congress (March 31st) after the battle of Cerro Gordo, which, he consistently alleged, deprived him of the *legal power* to treat. He recommended Congress to repeal the decree, that he might reply at least in courteous terms to the courteous communication of the American Commissioner. But a Congress of Mexican deputies was not to be caught thus—it had dissolved before Santa Anna's appeal could be brought before it. This induced Santa Anna to call a council of his officers, when it was decided that "it was inexpedient to enter into negotiations for peace until another opportunity had been afforded Mexico to retrieve her fortunes in the field." The idea prevailed, it seems, that it would be the height of pusillanimity to treat when their only enemy was Scott with an army of but 5,000 men in the very heart of their territory. But, the usual duplicity was behind all this apparent decision.

"It seems that the Mexican President, about the time that the public answer was proclaimed, sent *private communications* to the American head-quarters at Puebla, intimating that if a million of dollars were placed at his disposal, to be paid upon the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and ten thousand dollars

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were paid forthwith, he would appoint commissioners to negotiate. The proposal was received and discussed by General Scott, Mr. Trist and the leading officers; and being agreed to, though not unanimously, the ten thousand dollars were disbursed from the secret service money which Scott had at his disposal, and communications were opened in cipher—the key of which had been sent to Mexico. Intimations soon reached Puebla, from Santa Anna, that it would also be necessary for the American army to advance and threaten the capital;—and, finally, another message was received, urging Scott to penetrate the valley and carry one of the outworks of the Mexican line of defenses, in order to enable him to negotiate."

This Mayer adopts on the authority of Major Ripley's "History of the War with Mexico." Mansfield says nothing of it, in his biography. The result was, as might have been anticipated—nothing: the preliminary bonus of ten thousand dollars had gone quietly into the Mexican General's *private* fund. It was now discovered that Santa Anna was gathering a powerful army* around the city—that he was strengthening all of its defenses, and designed to stake his future claims for power upon the issue of a conflict. The apparently good time wasted, in this effort to negotiate a peace, had been propitious to the American General, however, since it afforded time for the reinforcements, so long delayed, to come up; and when the Commissioner found his occupation gone, Scott resumed most determined offensive operations. His army under date of August 7th is reported to have been 14,000, composed of his original brigades strengthened by those of General Pierce's corps (2,409), Cadwallader's brigade (1,400) and Pillow's brigade, new (1,800). Leaving Colonel Childs in garrison at Puebla with 1,400 men, and sick and wounded in hospital to the number of 1,860 (of whom 700 afterward died!), Scott took up his line of advance, August 7th—Colonel Harney's brigade of cavalry leading, followed the same day by the 2d division under Twiggs; on the 8th, Quitman's division (volunteers); on the 9th, Worth's division, the 1st; on the 10th, Pillow's division, the 3d. Scott accompanied Colonel Harney's brigade, in advance.†

* Viz:—General Valencia's corps, 5,000 strong, with thirty-six pieces of artillery, passed down from San Luis Potosi, and General Alvarez with 6,000 Pinto and Pinos Indians from the north, were added to the forces—which, by August 1st, amounted to 30,000 excellent troops, eager to fight.

† The constitution of the divisions was as follows:—1st, Worth's, com-

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The main (National) road was traveled direct from Puebla to the valley of the city. In that valley (a nearly circular formation about fifty miles in diameter, around which frown the eternal Cordilleras) are six small lakes. The city lies west of the largest, Lake Tezcuco, near its waters. The mountains approach it closely, on the west. Lakes Chalco and Xochimilico lie a few miles to the south, adjoining each other. The National highway runs along the south shore of Tezcuco. The grand highway leading from the city to Acapulco, on the Pacific, runs to the west of the Lake Xochimilico, and nearly at right angles with the National road. It passes through the villages San Augustin and San Antonio. To the west of the Acapulco road is still another highway called the Toluca road, passing through Tacubaya, and approaching the city by the heights of Chapultepec. On the Acapulco road, between San Antonio and the city are the villages of Cherubusco and Mexicalzingo. Contreras lies to the west of San Augustin in the midst of the "field of lava."

This statement will show the relative positions of the places which have now become so memorable in history. Each were only accessible over their respective highways. The Mexicans had fortified these causeways in numerous places, in a most effective manner. The approaches to the city may be said truly to have "bristled with impassabilities." Impossible as it may seem, Scott had actually planned the details of his movements upon the city, before he left Washington, and, in his subsequent actions, followed out his original design almost exclusively.

On the 11th Twiggs' division reached Ayotla, on Lake Chalco. Worth's division took position near the village of Chalco, on the south end of the lake, about five miles from Ayotla. Between them were quartered Pillow's and Quitman's commands. To the surprise of his officers he ordered the capital to be approached *by the Acapulco road*—to reach

prised the brigades of Colonels Garland and Clarke; 2d, Twiggs', comprised the brigades of General Smith and Colonel Riley; 3d, Pillow's, the brigades of Generals Cadwallader and Pierce; 4th, Quitman's, General Shields' and a second brigade composed of a detachment of United States marines and the 2d Pennsylvania volunteers. Colonel Harney's cavalry was composed of the 1st dragoons, Captain Kearney; 2d, Major Sumner; 3d, Captain McReynolds. Shields' brigade was composed of the New York and South Carolina volunteers.

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which it would be necessary to pass *around* the two lakes, on their south sides, by a long deserted road. To show that such a movement was required he ordered a reconnoissance by the direct route immediately in front—a duty intrusted to the rifle regiment, of Twiggs' division (Smith's brigade), accompanied by three companies of cavalry. At Peñon, on the National highway, was found a most formidable fortification, mounting fifty-one guns, completely commanding and enfilading the approach. Crossing over to Mexicalingo, five stern batteries were discovered evidently as eager for victims as the ancient deity of the Aztecs who used to reign and riot in those identical localities. This bold reconnoiter (August 12th) demonstrated the necessity of what Scott had ordered. The divisions therefore took up their march August 15th, Worth's in the advance. In two days' time, after a very arduous tramp, San Augustin, on the Acapulco road, was reached. Twiggs' division brought up the train—Smith's brigade forming the rear-guard. This most important movement *turned the entire line of defenses of the enemy*, who looked for the approach direct over the eastern highway. Now Scott was within nine miles of the capital, on a road but partially fortified, with a country before him over which he could move his trains and cavalry, without fear of bogs and water-courses. His occupation of San Augustin somewhat disconcerted the Mexican defense; but, seeing the imminence of the danger, Santa Anna threw General Valencia, with the choicest forces in his army, into Contreras heights, five miles to the left of Scott's head-quarters. This only partially fortified position Valencia took hasty steps to place in order for strong resistance. Toward the city, in Scott's direct line of march, was Cherubusco church and bridge, which General Rincon sought, by extraordinary exertions, to render invincible and impassable. He garrisoned them with the National Guards and several batteries of heavy artillery. Santa Anna himself threw up intrenchments at San Angel, on the Acapulco road, nearer the city than Contreras, while San Antonio, the first position, in front of Scott, was put in possession of choice troops and very formidable batteries.

Besides these central defenses the highways and causeways were fortified at all points where resistance could be

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effective. Full 30,000 troops were at Santa Anna's disposal, together with an immense supply of artillery. He disposed them with the judgment of an able tactician and shrewd strategist. His defenses were *seviatim*:—if driven from one he could fall upon another, and thus, by compelling Scott to take them in detail, he hoped so to weaken his force as to render him incapable of coping with the inner lines of intrenchments and fortresses, which were of tremendous strength. The height of Chapultepec was regarded as impregnable. Our American General fully penetrated the design of his antagonist, and prepared for all emergencies with a sagacity which never has failed in an hour of need.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MARCH ON CONTRERAS—THE FIELD OF LAVA—THE PRELIMINARY ASSAULT—ITS ILL SUCCESS—THE MIDNIGHT MARCH—THE ASSAULT AND THE VICTORY—THE PURSUIT—ASSAULT UPON SAN ANTONIO—GATHERING OF THE FORCES AT CHERUBUSCO—BATTLE OF THE BRIDGE—THE CHURCH AND THE OPEN FIELD—THE FINAL VICTORY—NIGHT ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE.

A RECONNOISSANCE was ordered by the American General on the 18th, to determine with precision the positions and ability of the enemy. San Antonio was found to be accessible only over a long, narrow causeway, flanked on the east by impassable ditches and bogs. To the left of it lay the *pedrigal* (field of lava) composed of the most chaotic eruptive matter and deemed perfectly impassable. It was resolved to reach it by *turning* it. To do this it was necessary to use the road running west of the pedrigal. A reconnoiter showed this to be fortified at Contreras. Against this outwork Scott resolved to strike his first blow. Pillow's division was given the advance. It opened the way slowly and laboriously for Twiggs' division, which started at one o'clock, for the attack. Captain Magruder's field battery of six and twelve pounders and Lieutenant Callender's mountain howitzers and rockets followed. A brief march brought General Smith's brigade in sight of Valencia's intrenchments on the heights. Beyond

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him could be seen large bodies of troops moving up and down the road as if throwing reinforcements into all their points of defense along the way.

Owing to the extremely rough and almost impassable nature of the ground the troops progressed with great difficulty. They could not march in column, and deployed in illy formed lines before the enemy's works. The action was opened by a few of Magruder's light guns only, as the twelve pounders could not be got over the impassable rocks. The reply was very severe, as Valencia had *twenty-two* well served guns. It made the intrepid assailants pause in their approach. The cavalry could not form at all—the broken and volcanic field forbade it. Only the rifles and 3d infantry could aid, with small-arms, the light artillery. It was evident to Scott that he must *turn* the position of the enemy and strike in both front and rear. He would then be able to force the height from its weak side, and cut off the heavy and constant reinforcements which Santa Anna, in person, was seen to be throwing into the works. The contest of the afternoon decided this. The troops were drawn off at nightfall, after a three hours' "brush," and were disposed for their double game of strategy and fight.* Early in the morning a portion of Pillow's division—General Cadawallader's brigade—moved toward the hamlet of Contreras, situated on the road to the capital, below the heights. Colonel Morgan, with the 4th infantry, proceeded to the village of Anselda, beyond the hamlet, where he was joined by General Shields with his two regiments of New York and South Carolina volunteers. The night was very dark, wet and chilling, and the march over that field of stones was extremely painful; but it was made, in good order and in great silence. By midnight the brigades of Smith, Riley and Shields, and Ransom's regulars, had

* This is Mansfield's statement. Brantz Mayer states the matter somewhat differently. We may therefore quote his version:—"Firing at a long distance against an intrenched camp was worse than useless on such a ground, and although General Smith's and Colonel Riley's brigades, supported by General Pierce's and Cadwallader's, had be enunder a heavy fire of artillery and musketry for more than three hours along the almost impassable ravine in front and to the left of the Mexican camp yet so little had been effected in destroying the position that the main reliance for success was correctly judged to be in an assault at close quarters. The plan had been arranged in the night by Brigadier-General Persifer F. Smith, and was sanctioned by General Scott, to whom it was communicated by the indefatigable diligence of Captain Lee, of the Engineers."

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obtained their position, and there they stood in the drenching rain, chilled to the very marrow, until three o'clock A. M. (on the 20th) when the first gray streak of light allowed them to move. Riley, Cadwallader and Smith defiled their men into the rear of the enemy's batteries, through a ravine, which so covered their approach that they came to a halt almost within leaping distance of the the Mexican guns. All being ready the word "*charge!*" broke the stillness of the morning. The Mexicans were completely surprised—all their attention having been given to the front and southern approaches, from whence Scott had made his first demonstration the previous afternoon. The struggle was brief, but extremely bloody, for the Spaniards fought with the desperation of despair. Valencia's entire columns soon were leaping from the embankments, flying toward the city. But Shields, with his volunteers, was ready on the highway, and caught the columns as they passed in the network of a terrible cross-fire. The victory was complete. Scott reported as the results of the affair:—"One road to the capital opened; 700 of the enemy killed; 813 prisoners, including, among 88 officers, 4 Generals;* 22 pieces of brass ordnance, half of large caliber; thousands of small-arms and accouterments; an immense quantity of shot, shells, powder and cartridges; 700 pack-mules, etc., etc., all in our hands."

The number of Americans engaged was 4,500; that of the enemy, under Valencia, in the works, was 7,000; while Santa Anna held 12,000 in reserve at San Angel. The divisions of Worth and Quitman, which were to aid the assault by diversions in front (on the east) were too late for the action—the enemy being routed before they could form on the stony field. The victory, as Scott reported, opened one highway to the city. He therefore allowed the troops no rest, but ordered Twiggs and Pillow to follow up the flying enemy and press them as far in retreat as possible, since the pursuit would give, also, the rear approach planned against the strong post of San Antonio, which commanded the other road, to the capital. Quitman's and Worth's divisions, meanwhile, were ordered to countermarch, the first to garrison the head-quarters and depôt at San Augustin, the others to carry the assault on Antonio from the front. Garland's and Clarke's brigades moved upon

* Salas, Mendoza Garcia, and Guadalupe.

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that location, when the enemy, learning of the disaster at Contreras, withdrew, before the approaching brigades. But, the rapidly moving infantry of Colonel Clarke passed the place, and, falling upon the retreating garrison, cut it in two — the advance flying on to Cherubusco, in front, while the remainder (about 2,000) under General Bravo, retreated east, toward Dolores. Garland's brigade moving directly in front, passed over the causeway and took possession of San Antonio, its defenses and public property. One General was secured as prisoner. Then, uniting his force to that of Clarke, the enemy was pursued into Cherubusco, around which the other divisions of the invading army had already centered by the road from San Angel. Worth's brigade came up to find Twiggs already on the field, in action.

Cherubusco is about five miles from Contreras. Its defenses were very strong and well ordered, consisting of a bridge over the Cherubusco river fortified by two bastions with curtains—strongly garrisoned and mounting heavy batteries—and the church of Cherubusco, a very heavily built stone structure, 450 yards to the west of the bridge, encompassed by two lines of defense, an outer field wall and an inner stone masonry erection, high above which arose the church. This edifice and its outworks gave quarters for a large body of men. It was so armed at all points as to prove very formidable. The outside field intrenchment and wall was high enough to be pierced for two ranges of guns, which, besides commanding a wide range, would throw a close, plunging fire upon approaching columns. Santa Anna had centered, at Cherubusco, besides its ordinary force, all his available field forces and the remnant of the garrisons of Antonio and Contreras. It was the last position of all the city's outer line of defenses. He must hold it if possible. Scott, in person, tarried, without an escort, at Coyohacan, one mile from the church, from whence he might watch and direct the movements for the assault.

Worth's division pursued the routed garrison of Antonio up to the causeway leading to the *téte du pont* (bridge head). He there found Twiggs already engaged in a sharp assault on the church, aided by Taylor's artillery, while, further to the west, on the Mexicans' right, Pierce and Shields were actively engaged in forcing the enemy's field lines. Worth was

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instructed immediately to assault the bridge bastions, over the causeway. The various brigades and regiments of Cadwallader, Garland, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, Clarke, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott and Major White, therefore pressed upon the work, which served its artillery with wonderful fury and precision. But, the reply was equally spirited, and the advance was steady. In an hour such breaches were made as determined the assault. It was made, and the works carried at the bayonet's point. The guns were then turned upon the church, (the citadel, it is called in the dispatches) which still held out against Twiggs' desperate attempts. The loss of the bridge, however, soon sent up a white flag from the church, but it was quickly hauled down, apparently by violent hands. The 3d infantry, seeing this, rushed forward, under Captains Alexander and J. M. Smith, and Lieutenant O. L. Shepherd; and, with bayonet and sword, soon compelled the white flag again to show itself. In a moment more the colors of the gallant 3d flew from the church tower, amid the wildest huzzas of the troops around. Even the old Mexican General, Rincon, was gratified at the spirit shown, and smiled his satisfaction. He had made a most obstinate resistance, greatly aided by a hundred deserters from the American camp, led by one Thomas Riley, an Irishman. These men fought with the most reckless courage, for, once taken, they knew their ignominious fate. It was Riley who drew down the first flag of truce shown. He originally belonged to the 3d infantry, and his capture was a source of great satisfaction to his outraged comrades. For three hours the brigades of Riley and Smith literally stood "in a whirlwind of fire and a storm of balls," unflinching, and confident of ultimate success. That success rewarded their valor: Rincon and many of his officers and men were prisoners, and the way to the "Halls of the Montezumas" lay open before the conquering host.

General Shields conducted his men to a stern battle-field. Santa Anna in person commanded the field forces, to the west and rear of the bridge and church, 7,000 strong, nearly one-half cavalry. The volunteers of New York and South Carolina were, side by side, led on to the charge. Whole companies were decimated, and leader after leader disappeared from the front of the undaunted brigades. Shields and Pierce

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and the gallant Butler rode everywhere over the crimson field. Butler fell, Pierce fainted from exhaustion, and Shields alone led the battle front. The invincible Rifles came to his aid, then Harney with his splendid cavalry. Finally Worth's and Pillow's men, having passed the bridge, rushed on over the highway to the conflict, but it was won:—the enemy was flying before Shields' thoroughly infuriated ranks, and Captain Kearney, dashing through the victorious columns with his dragoons, rode down the Mexicans, up to the very gates of the city.

Thus closed the day's action. A momentous day it was for American arms. Five desperate conflicts—two long, running fights—a midnight march in rain and cold—a day of hurrying advance:—surely the troops had earned repose. Alas! many had won a sleep which no battle alarums would ever disturb.

The recall was sounded. Troops bivouacked on the field of battle—each division on its own conquered position. The wounded were borne to the church, now the hospital; the dead were buried by the fitful glare of camp-fires, while volleys fired over graves broke the night stillness with their painful dirges. By midnight all was hushed into repose. Scott alone seemed not to sleep. His commanding form was seen gliding everywhere through the gloom, like a good spirit, watching over his children. Well he might walk the battle-field, for what was to be the fate of the morrow?

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BATTLES OF MOLINO DEL REY AND THE CASA DE MATA—AWFUL CARNAGE—BRILLIANT VICTORY—SCOTT'S STRATEGY.

THE city of Mexico was in great tumult on the night of the 20th. The discomfited troops entered the gates in thorough disorganization, and Santa Anna hastened to convene the Ministers of State to determine upon the course to be pursued. It was an exciting session of the high functionaries, and the chief found the sentiment not only averse to a capitulation, but also extremely direct against him for allowing an army of 9,000 men to drive before it 30,000 fresh troops,

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splendidly mounted and strongly intrenched. As usual with the Mexican leaders the blame of defeat was thrown upon the defeated officers:—as if Santa Anna had not been the master spirit of the whole defense, and had not, himself, chosen the place of honor on the field of Cherubusco in trying to turn the American left! The wish for a truce was expressed, however. It was, therefore, resolved to send the British Consul-General, Mr. Mackintosh, and the Spanish Minister, Señor Bermudez de Castro, to negotiate for a suspension of hostilities to bury the dead. The Consul passed out to the American camp to sound Scott on the question of an armistice and a peace. He found the chief disinclined to any accommodation, save an armistice to be demanded by the authorities in view of a treaty of peace and amity, for which treaty, a special Commissioner, Mr. Trist, accompanied the army, fully empowered to act in conjunction with Scott. He so wrote to Santa Anna, on the morning of the 21st, at the same time preparing to move forward on Tacubaya. Santa Anna could but agree to an armistice for the meeting of commissioners; and Scott, acting from a deep sense of duty, strove, in all ways, to induce the Mexican people and commissioners to come to terms. He wrote, August 28th:—

"After so many victories, we might, with but little additional loss, have occupied the capital the same evening. But Mr. Trist, Commissioner, etc., as well as myself, had been admonished by the best friends of peace—intelligent neutrals and some American residents—against precipitation; lest, by wantonly driving away the Government and others, dishonored, we might scatter the elements of peace, excite a spirit of national desperation, and thus indefinitely postpone the hope of accommodation. Deeply impressed with this danger, and remembering our mission—to conquer a peace—the army very cheerfully sacrificed to patriotism, to the great wish and want of our country, the *eclat* that would have followed an entrance, sword in hand, into a great capital. Willing to leave something to this republic—of no immediate value to us—on which to rest her pride, and to recover temper, I halted our victorious corps at the gates of the city (at least for a time) and have them now cantoned in the neighboring villages, where they are well sheltered and supplied with all necessaries."

This gives the key to the armistice granted. The negotiations progressed very unsatisfactorily—so much so that, on September 7th at noon, when it closed from expiration, Scott

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took steps for a final conquest of the city. The interval of peace had been employed by Santa Anna in sending arms and supplies to Chapultepec Castle, and in generally preparing his army for another struggle—in total violation of the articles of armistice; but, what could be expected of a leader so notoriously perfidious as Santa Anna? Scott warned him of his breach of faith. Santa Anna replied by charging Scott with a desecration of temples, with outrages of his troops upon the people, etc.—in all of which there was little truth. The charges were preferred as some extenuation for his own bad faith.

Scott's head-quarters, during the armistice, were at Tacubaya. In front, about twelve hundred yards distant, arose the height of Chapultepec, crowned with a fortress of renowned strength. It was two and a half miles distant from the city. Two causeways ran from it to the two city gates, Belen and San Cosmo. A causeway also ran from Tacubaya, by way of Piedad, to the Belen gate. The Castle guns commanded all these avenues of approach to the city, while its heavy mortars could play *into* the city. It was, therefore, necessary to possess the height, if the Americans would enter by the Belen and San Cosmo gates. Not only the top of the hill was fortified, but the two ascents were encompassed with barriers and outlying fortifications. On its northern, eastern and southern sides the height was quite abrupt. The most available ascent was from the western front, up a slope, through a dense forest. That ascent was guarded by the several positions of *Molino del Rey* (King's Mill), *Casa de Mata*, etc. The first named, although called *a mill*, Scott learned was, in truth, a foundry where quantities of cannon and shot had been recently cast. Church bells had been carried thither during the two days previous to the 7th, and came forth, mounted on the bastions of the *Casa de Mata*, as powerful ordnance. The *Casa de Mata* was a fine outwork. It stood about four hundred yards west of "the mill," in a line with it and the Castle.

To assault and render useless to the enemy these two works, was the first step toward operating against the height. Worth was ordered to carry them by storm, to capture the artillery, destroy the furnaces, etc., then to return to Tacubaya

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to await further developments of the plan of action. If, taking these works, did not suffice "to conquer the peace" sought for, the Castle would then be won. Worth put his columns in motion at three A. M., on the 8th (September). His forces consisted of the 1st division, 2,000; Cadwallader's brigade, Voltigeurs, 784; dragoons and mounted riflemen under Major Sumner, 270; Drum's battery (three field-pieces) and Huger's battery (two twenty-four pounders), 100; making a total of 3,154 men first carried to the assault. It was afterward strengthened to a force of 3,251. The enemy were, it afterward appeared, well prepared for the attack, and the two positions named, with their connecting intrenchments, contained about 14,000 men, 10,000 of whom were at the intrenched lines, or held in reserve. All had been disposed by Santa Anna, in person. General Perez commanded at the *Casa de Mata*, General Leon at "the mill," General Ramirez at the intrenchments.

Worth bent his first attack upon the intrenched line, as being the weakest and most assailable point. Five hundred picked men under Major Wright of the 8th infantry, supported by Huger's powerful battery, were detailed for this duty. Garland's brigade, supported by Drum's battery, was thrown upon "the mill"—if possible to cut it off from support from the Castle. Colonel McIntosh, with the 2d brigade and Duncan's battery, were assigned to the *Casa de Mata*, while Cadwallader's brigade of Voltigeurs was held on a ridge near the center as a reserve.

Huger's guns opened at daybreak, on the 8th. They tore into "the mill" fearfully, and diverted the enemy's center, when Wright dashed forward with his picked men to assault the lines. They drove the Mexicans before them and seized the field-battery to turn it upon the fugitives. But, seeing the paucity of numbers in the attack, the enemy rallied and came into the field with extreme desperation. Their volleys of musketry were rapid as a fired train, and the slaughter of Americans was correspondingly appalling. Eleven officers of fourteen were killed, when the men shrunk back in dismay at the unexpected carnage. The Mexicans, calling in their reserve from the grove, pressed their advantage and regained their battery. But, only for a moment. Cadwallader threw

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a regiment, under Captain E. Kirby Smith, into the field:—the men rallied and the enemy were effectually routed, after making a determined resistance.

Molino del Rey, in the mean time, opened its sharpest fire on Garland's brigade advancing on the enemy's left. Drum's battery replied powerfully, when the Americans walked right into the inclosure, carried the building at the bayonet's point, and turned its guns so as to enfilade all approaches from the Castle. The garrison retreated up the hill to the shelter of the defenses above.

The *Casa de Mata* offered a more obstinate defense. It proved to be a powerful and regular intrenchment, with bastions and deep ditches. Colonel Scott, Waite, and McIntosh fell, leading their columns on to the assault under a perfect rain of balls. The terrific fire literally mowed away the ranks, and the loss of officers caused the men to fall back behind Duncan's battery, which had been called to the field to support the American left. The Mexican cavalry held in reserve, in the woods, deployed to the right of the intrenchments to press upon the repulsed brigade, but Duncan's blazing guns scattered the gay uniforms like autumn-leaves before the sharp blast. Sumner's dragoons then charged, and the enemy flew in utter discomfiture. The relentless guns of Duncan then turned upon the intrenchments and soon drove the enemy in great trepidation up the hill. This gave the fortress to the gallant men, so many of whose comrades lay stretched in death upon the green sward.

This ended the conflict for the outworks, which were found to be far more formidable than the most careful reconnoissance of the engineers, and by Generals Scott and Worth, in person, had been able to detect—so skillfully had their lines been masked by the sagacious Santa Anna.* The victory cost the Americans much blood—nearly *one-fourth* of Worth's

* Colonel Ramsey states, in a note to his translation of the Mexican History of the War, that Santa Anna was in possession of Scott's order to carry the outworks a few hours after it was given, and, in consequence, during the entire 7th of September, he was preparing for the defense. We can scarcely credit the assumption, particularly as Colonel Ramsey insinuates that Scott was informed his designs were known, but did not believe it, and did not strengthen Worth's forces. The *insinuation* is that he sent the men into useless danger. Brantz Mayer and Colonel Ripley are of opinion that the assault, *before* battering with the guns, was a useless slaughter. It *is so* easy to plan a conflict *after* it is fought! Had the American commander surmised *half* the strength of the enemy's works, he would, of course, have ordered their battery before assault.

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entire corps being either killed or wounded! Out of 187 officers 58 were killed or disabled. This list included some of the choicest spirits in that army of brilliant men. The Mexicans equally suffered. Leon, Mateos, Huerto, Balderos, were killed, together with others of their best leaders, while 52 commissioned officers and 800 men were made prisoners.

Casa de Mata was blown up. "The mill" and its machinery were so far destroyed as to render the works useless. All the arms, munitions and provisions captured were borne to the American depôt at Tacubaya. The ground was then left unoccupied, preparatory to the assault on the height, upon which the Mexicans were centering their entire resources, under command of the indomitable Bravo. Why did Scott leave these dearly-won defenses open, and why did he not proceed immediately to attack the Castle? the reader asks. It was the delay ot good generalship and strategy. The army must enter the city by the two western gates of Belen and San Cosmo. If Chapultepec was taken, it would allow the concentration of the strength of the entire Mexican army and people at those points, and render the entrance one of extreme hazard to Scott's now greatly reduced force, for illness (dysentery) had been at work among his men as well as the enemy's balls. He therefore proposed to *feint* an attempt upon the *southern* gates of the city, and, by apparently abandoning the conquered positions at the foot of the hill, make it appear that he was not going to assault it. This would give the Mexicans time to concentrate their best forces at other points, when Scott would suddenly turn and precipitate his whole strength upon the Castle, carry it, and, by a hurried movement on the two western gates, secure them and their fine defenses before the enemy could recover from their surprise to act with concert and efficiency. It was a most able and admirably conceived plan, and, as the result proved, was the secret of Scott's final success. A repulse at Chapultepec would have annihilated his army:—a victory would give him the city.

Santa Anna had the bells of the city rung in honor of his victory at the outworks! NERO fiddling over the conflagration of Rome offers a parallel for that merry chime from cathedral towers.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE STRATEGY—ITS SUCCESS—CHAPULTEPEC—THE BATTERIES OPENED ON IT—FALSE MOVEMENTS OF THE TROOPS—SUDDEN DESCENT ON THE HILL—THE ASSAULT—THE VICTORY—THE PURSUIT—QUITMAN IN THE CITY.

THE designs of the Commander-in-Chief have been stated, viz.:—to make *feints* on the southern gates of the city until the Mexican commander should center his forces in that quarter, then to make a sudden descent on Chapultepec and carry it by bombardment and storm, then to enter the city by the Belen and San Cosmo gates. To the consummation of this scheme the outworks at the foot of the hill, won by so much blood, had been abandoned; the various divisions were so disposed as to cover the real movement, yet were in available localities; the best guns of the several batteries were drawn out before the heights; the troops were drafted to their fullest extent, many of the slightly wounded leaving the hospitals for places in the ranks:—all was stir and preparation for the final great conflict, yet all was masked, even to the comprehension of most of the officers, since secrecy was necessary to success.

The stronghold to be carried rose from the plain fully one hundred and fifty feet, presenting impassable fronts toward the city, and on the north and south. It was crowned with an edifice called "the Castle," in its outer walls measuring nine hundred feet in length—the main building, including the *terre-plein*, measuring six hundred feet. The whole is thus described by an officer, in a letter to the Washington *Union:*

"The Castle is about ten feet high, and the whole structure, including the wings, bastions, parapets, redoubts and batteries, is very strongly built, and of the most splendid architecture. A splendid dome decorates the top, rising in great majesty about twenty feet above the whole truly grand and magnificent pile, and near which is the front center, supported by a stone arch, upon which is painted the coat-of-arms of the republic, where once floated the tri-colored banner, but is now decorated by the glorious stars and stripes of our own happy land. Two very strongly built stone walls surround the whole; and at the west end, where we stormed the works, the outer walls are some ten feet apart, and twelve or fifteen feet high, over which

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we charged by the help of fascines. It was defended by heavy artillery, manned by the most learned and skillful gunners of their army, including some French artillerists of distinction. The infantry force consisted of the officers and students of the institution, and the national guards, and chosen men of war of the republic—the whole under the command of General Bravo, whom we made prisoner. The whole hill is spotted with forts and outposts, and stone and mud walls, which were filled with their picket or Castle-guard. A huge, high stone wall extends around the whole frowning craggy mount, and another along the south-east base, midway from the former and the Castle. A well-paved road leads up in a triangular form to the main gate, entering the south *terre-plein;* and the whole works are ingeniously and beautifully ornamented with Spanish fastidiousness and skill."

Of the approaches to the city Scott in his Official Report says:—

"The city of Mexico stands on a slight swell of ground, near the center of an irregular basin, and is girdled with a ditch in its greater extent—a navigable canal of great breadth and depth —very difficult to bridge in the presence of an enemy, and serving at once for drainage, custom-house purposes, and military defense; leaving eight entrances or gates, over arches, each of which we found defended by a system of strong works, that seemed to require nothing but some men and guns to be impregnable."

On the night of September 11th four heavy batteries were mounted, under direction of the engineers, Huger and Lee, on a ridge between Tacubaya and the height—in charge, respectively, of Captains Drum, Hagner, Brooks and Lieutenant Stone—which opened fire on the morning of the 12th. All day the cannonade was kept up. Bombs with hissing fuses flew in magnificent arches through the air, and dropped, to burst with terrific violence, within the inclosure above. The great balls leaped from the guns, and went careering overhead like dark meteors, to tear and crash through the ramparts and walls with all the awful havoc of an earthquake. The men only rested at their guns when darkness descended over all with its protecting shadows.

Previous to this bombardment, the troops had made imposing demonstrations before the southern gates of the city. During the day (11th) Scott surveyed the gates very closely, using as a covering party Pillow's entire division and Colonel

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Riley's brigade. He then ordered Quitman, with his entire division, forward from Coyoacan to join Pillow, in the *daytime*, before the southern gates. These admirable *feints* produced the desired effect of convincing the Mexican General that the southern *garitas* (gates) would be forced for entrance to the capital. At *night*, however, the divisions of both Pillow and Quitman passed from before the southern gates to Tacubaya, where they were united to Worth's troops. General Smith's brigade was at San Angel. Twiggs was left with Riley's troops and Captain Taylor's artillery, before the San Antonio exit to continue the game of deception by maneuvers and false attacks. This was continued to the *afternoon* of the 13th so successfully that the enemy did not suspect the decoy set for them until they learned that, instead of a bombardment, the entire army, except the troops deploying before the gates, was assaulting Chapultepec!

At half-past five, on the morning of the 13th, the guns opened again on the Castle. This was continued up to eight o'clock, when several breaches were made. At a signal the assault began. The divisions of Pillow and Quitman were detailed for the honorable service, while Worth's division, turning the hill, gained the north side to assist in the assault as circumstances might require, by resisting reinforcements from the city and by cutting off the enemy's retreat. Pillow's troops rushed forward from the now silenced *Molino del Rey*. They pressed forward up the easy ascent, scaling all outworks, and, in a brief time, planted scaling ladders against the inclosure walls. One loud huzza and the men streamed over—to court victory or death.

Quitman was given the south-eastern approach. Supported by Shields and Smith, he pressed up the declivity, fortified in the most effective manner. Battery after battery was scaled and silenced, when Shields, filing to the left with his gallant volunteers, crossed the meadows before the Castle batteries, entered the outer court, and was, with Pillow's men, in at the victory. Quitman's force, delayed by the inch-by-inch fight up the hill, arrived to find the American flag floating over the Castle.

What a shout rent the air from those ancient halls—the veritable "Halls of Montezuma," the splendid seat of the

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Spanish viceroys! It rolled over the valley, as if the sky was peopled with men and their voices came forth from the clouds—so it appeared to those in the valley below. Worth's men caught up the *jubilante* and re-echoed it, wildly and long.

Mayer states that "the onslaught had been so rapid and resistless that the Mexicans stood appalled as the human tide foamed and burst over their battlements. Men who had been stationed to fire the mines either fled or were shot down. Officers fell at their posts, and the brave old Bravo, fighting to the last, was taken prisoner with a thousand combatants." The victory was entire and complete. The entire hill was in possession of the invaders, and the Mexican people, from their look-outs in the city, gave up all as lost.

Santa Anna was engaged watching Twiggs, before the *garita* of San Antonio, when informed of the sudden movement on the Castle. He was thunderstruck and mortified, seeing the *ruse* so artfully and successfully practiced. But, before he could fly to its aid, the American standard was unfurled from the ramparts of the stronghold. The retreating men from the batteries on the hill, and many from the Castle, dropped down the steep declivities, under cover of the rocks and bushes, to gain the causeways and meadows below. There, gathering in companies, they courageously strove to cut their way through to the gates. Santa Anna's fresh troops poured out to receive them, while from steeples, roofs and outlying intrenchments both troops and the populace fired upon the pursuing regiments of Worth. Worth seized the highway and aqueduct of San Cosmo, while Quitman, hastening from the heights, proceeded to seize the Belen entrance. Scott had followed the columns closely, and was in the Castle almost at the shout of victory. Mounting the battlements, glass in hand, he spanned the whole magnificent panorama below. In a few moments he decided upon the further movements of his army.

Worth pursued the enemy to the very gates of San Cosmo, and was soon engaged in a terrific combat. Cadwallader's brigade, with heavy howitzers, preceded by pioneers, soon breached and forced the outworks, and gained commanding positions to open his batteries on the city. Only the *garita* of San Cosmo now stood between Worth and the Plaza when night came on.

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Quitman was ordered by Scott to maneuver against the Belen *garita*, in order thus to divert the enemy from concentrating all their forces on Worth. But, his men could not be restrained. Onward they pushed, under flank and direct fires, over their own fast falling comrades—onward, until Belen was carried and the city entered. The strong Citadel near, where Santa Anna had taken refuge, remained unsilenced, however, and the men suffered severely, not only from its tremendous fire but also from musketry poured in from housetops and windows around. The indomitable leader resolved to hold his ground:—*his* men were the first to enter the fated capital, and they should retain their prize and honors. He therefore threw up strong protecting defenses, and awaited the coming of morning to push forward to the Great Square, or to take such other steps as the General-in-Chief should direct.

Thus closed the fortunes of that most memorable of days to the little army. Many a gallant spirit had fallen in the conquest, but the joy at victory overshadowed even regrets for the brave dead, and the troops fell asleep to dream of the fabled glories of that fabled city of kings.

CHAPTER XIX.

ENTRANCE TO THE CAPITAL—ITS OCCUPATION—QUITMAN GOVERNOR—PRESERVATION OF ORDER—EFFORTS TO SECURE A TREATY—MR. TRIST RECALLED—TARRIES TO CONSUMMATE THE NEGOTIATIONS—SCOTT SUSPENDED FROM COMMAND—RETURNS HOME—HONORS BESTOWED UPON HIM.

A COUNCIL of Mexican commanders was held in the Citadel early in the evening of the 13th, to take action in the extreme state of affairs. Crimination and recrimination followed. Santa Anna "washed his hands of the defeat," for which other Generals were responsible! Generals Carrera, Perez, Lombardini and Alcosta no longer relied on their men, for they were thoroughly demoralized by defeat. Nothing therefore remained but to evacuate the capital. Lombardini was named Commander-in-Chief, Perez his second, to whom all military

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authority was delegated. At nine o'clock Santa Anna took his coach and drove away from the city he was powerless to save.

On the morning of the 18th, just at daybreak, as the army was in motion preparatory to entering the city, a deputation of the city council came to Scott, informing him that their troops and officers had all fled the city, and demanding of him terms of honorable capitulation for the citizens, the church and the city authorities. This of course was not granted. The Americans were masters by conquest of the city, and it was for them to dictate terms. Quitman and Worth were ordered to advance upon the center of the city; to guard carefully against treachery, to occupy commanding points, and to avoid unnecessary injury to persons and property. Worth was halted at the Alameda, a few squares from the Plaza, that Quitman should have the honor of first entering the National Palace, as he was the first to pass the barriers on the city limits. His division therefore entered the Great Square; a detachment flew over it to the building and soon unfurled the American flag and the regimental colors of the Rifles from the flag-staff over the Palace walls.

At nine o'clock Scott, attended by his full staff, entered the Square. As he passed on his way to the Palace the troops sent up a shout which moved him to tears of thankfulness. To the invincible and devoted Voltigeurs he responded: "Brave men, my heart is with you!" To the Rifles he answered: "Brave Rifles! Veterans! you have been baptized in fire and blood and have come out steel!" "Had you seen this," said one present, "you would have felt, with me, that such words as these wiped out long months of hardship and suffering." Napoleon—Wellington never witnessed more devotion displayed by their men.

The General passed up to the Palace, dismounted, and entered the renowned building to write his first orders of occupation, while the regimental band of the 2d dragoons discoursed *Yankee Doodle* to the assembled thousands. Mexicans mingled with the soldiers, eager to see, and, many of them, to annoy. Lepers and vagrants congregated in great numbers, and so pestered the troops that Scott ordered the dragoons to clear the Square of their presence. This was

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done without injury to them; but it gave pretext for the "house-top war" which followed,—if pretext, indeed, were wanted. The night previous over 1,000 convicts had been turned loose from the prisons. Those terrors of society, uniting with the few companies of desperate soldiers remaining, and with the vagrants, made an attack upon the troops, from house-roofs and windows. Soon the citizens seemed to join in the murderous warfare, and numbers of the brave troops and their officers fell before the covert shot, during the day (the 14th). Finally the divisions of Twiggs and Worth were boldly assaulted by the populace, when Scott ordered batteries to sweep the streets, and the Rifles to pick off every man seen on the house-tops. This drove the infuriated crowd into the strong buildings, from which they continued their firing. Scott then sent word to the municipal authorities that he should blow up every structure, were it church, convent or residence, from which the populace should seek to assassinate his men. This ended the assassins' work, and soon the city assumed its wonted air of quiet.

On the 16th he issued an order for thanks to Divine Providence for their recent victories:—"The General-in-Chief calls upon his brethern in arms to return, both in public and private worship, thanks and gratitude to God for the signal triumphs which they have recently achieved for their country."

Orders were issued, immediately, forbidding any outrage upon public or private property, and holding his entire army under the severest discipline in regard to its conduct toward the people of the city. No conquered capital ever fared so generously at the hands of its conqueror. In a decree, dated September 24th, he said:

"Here, as in all Roman Catholic countries, there are frequent religious processions in the streets, as well as in churches, such as the elevation of the Host, the *viaticum*, funerals, etc. The interruption of such processions has already been prohibited in orders; and, as no civilized person will ever wantonly do any act to hurt the religious feelings of others, it is earnestly requested of all Protestant Americans either to keep out of the way or to pay to the Catholic religion and its ceremonies every decent mark of respect and deference."

This edict breathes the Christian spirit in which Mexico

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was conquered and governed while in possession of the army of Scott.*

Martial law was proclaimed on the 17th, and Quitman appointed civil and military Governor. Orders of great stringency were issued to punish crime, to guarantee the Mexican courts in the exercise of their usual functions, to protect public, church and private property. Scott demanded, instead of a munificent ransom, the meager sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to be used as follows: ninety thousand dollars for blankets, shoes, etc., for distribution among the needy troops; twenty thousand for extra comforts and care for the sick and wounded; forty thousand dollars for the military chest.

The occupation of the city continued until May, 1848, when the treaty negotiated by Mr. Trist was ratified by commissioners specially dispatched from Washington. Scott, up to January of that year, was incessantly laboring with the Mexican Government to secure the treaty desired. All the interval, during the final conquest up to the month of April—when Santa Anna withdrew in disgrace (forever it is to be hoped) from the distracted country—the war was prosecuted with great bitterness by guerrilla parties, and bands under the Priest Jaranta, in the surrounding States and along the route from Vera Cruz to the capital. New troops arrived under Generals Lane, Patterson and others, who experienced sharp service in hunting down the formidable and, at times, very powerful organizations of the enemy. The final occupation of all important points by the American army, the withdrawal of Santa Anna, and the strengthened authority of the President, Señor Peña-y-Peña, restored a more settled order of things, leading the way for the treaty which followed.

The history of Mr. Polk's administration so far as it relates to the Mexican question, is one of discredit. Mr. Trist, for not accomplishing what could not be forced, was suspended from his functions as Commissioner, and he was recalled.

* Mr. William Jay, in his work already referred to, is very severe on Scott for the tribute he levied upon the city and provinces. Had that author shown as much of the spirit of a Christian as of evident vindictiveness, he would have been spared his censures. Scott was simply obeying orders from Washington in his "levy," and none knew it better, probably, than Mr. Jay.

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The preliminaries of a peace had, however, been determined upon, and he consented to consummate the negotiations even without authority. Scott co-operated with him; and, by their united labors, the treaty was finally signed and forwarded to Washington for ratification. Notwithstanding the irregularity of the proceedings, the instrument was ratified by Congress, with very slight alteration (March 10th). Instead of confiding to Mr. Trist the final consummation of the matter, to which his great prudence, wisdom and popularity with the Mexican authorities had greatly contributed, he was superseded by the appointment of United States Senator Sevier and Attorney-General Clifford, who both resigned their positions in order to bear the treaty (and the heavy money indemnity stipulated), back to Mexico, and to secure its adoption. As if Mr. Trist was not equal to such a service! The ratification took place May 30th, after which the American troops evacuated the country, leaving, after all their warfare, very agreeable memories behind them. Vast numbers of Mexican people of all classes, grew to believe that a better order of things would prevail in their country if the Americans should remain permanently in the occupation. Scott, it is reported, had overtures from many of the leading men of the State, to accept a permanent Presidency.

In the mean time the Administration found it advisable, in the exercise of its authority, to *suspend* Scott from his command. Generals Pillow and Worth had preferred charges against the Commander-in-Chief, involving really very trifling points of *etiquette* rather than sins of commission, and the Administration hastened to arraign Scott before — whom? Before a tribunal composed of a Paymaster-General, a Brigadier of volunteers, and a Colonel of dragoons, who were to inquire into the conduct of their superior! Did the world ever before behold such an ungenerous betrayal of personal and partisan spite?

Scott, in truth, after the conquest, had become so immensely popular that the Administration doubtless felt it necessary to force from him his honors—to disgrace him in some way, and thus place him out of the category of Presidential opponents for the next campaign. No other solution has ever been offered to the proceedings. The "court" met in Mexico—

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then adjourned to meet in Washington where the "inquiry," becoming so utterly odious to the entire nation, was suffered to pass into oblivion—a mass of testimony being reported which few indeed have ever felt the curiosity to explore.

This order of suspension came a few days after the treaty had been dispatched to Washington. He had been permitted thus to contribute to the final crowning act of the campaign, to add the crown to his reputation for legal acumen and ministerial wisdom, as the conquest, by arms, had added the crown to his military renown. He immediately passed over to General Butler the chief command, and attended upon the "court of inquiry" during its sessions in the capital. When it adjourned to meet in Washington, he started to return home, without retinue, without honors:—a conqueror, he was, literally, returning home in disgrace. The country was shocked and humiliated at the occurrence. He arrived at Elizabethport, New Jersey, in a private vessel, May 20th, and retired to his family residence at Elizabethtown. Various leading cities of the country hastened to tender him receptions, which he declined, urging that he could receive no honors so long as he was under the displeasure of the Executive. The city of New York, however, would not permit such a banishment. On the 22d a Committee of the Common Council visited his private residence. They sought his consent to a popular ovation as a recognition not more of his services than of the sentiments with which the public regarded the circumstances under which he had returned. Scott, feeling that to deny such a request would greatly injure the feelings of his friends, consented to the reception, which was arranged to take place on the 25th of May.

It proved to be one of the most imposing demonstrations that had taken place for years in the great metropolis. The city streets were densely crowded—over 200,000 people being present on the line of march. Buildings were gayly decorated, mottoes were suspended from the walls and over the streets, flags were flying upon all public buildings and from the shipping. Amid the thunder of artillery he landed at Castle Garden, in charge of the Committee. The addresses on the occasion are worthy of repetition, as showing the actual feeling of the country toward Scott, and his own sentiments.

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Being received from the Committee of Elizabethtown, Mr. Morris Franklin, President of the Board of Aldermen of New York city, welcomed the old soldier in terms of congratulation at his safe return. He added:

"In contemplating upon the thrilling events which have characterized your history, we find so much to excite our admiration, and to call into action the patriotic emotions of the heart, that we feel proud, as American citizens, that among the many illustrious names which now are, or may hereafter be emblazoned upon the escutcheons of our country, yours will appear in bold relief, as among her noblest and most honored sons; for whether upon the plains of Chippewa, or Lundy's Lane—whether at the sortie of Fort Erie, or on the heights of Queenstown—whether landing on the shores of Vera Cruz, or bravely contending at the pass of Cerro Gordo—whether entering in triumph the capital of Mexico, and there planting the American standard upon its battlements—whether in the warrior's tent, at the solemn hour of midnight, arranging the operations of the coming day, while your faithful soldiers were slumbering around you, dreaming of their friends and their homes—or whether attending upon the wounded, the dying, and the dead, regardless of yourself in your anxiety for others—we find all those characteristics which mark the true dignity of man, and bespeak the accomplished and victorious chieftain.

"Under circumstances such as these, and fresh from the well-fought battle-fields of our country, we now welcome you within our midst, as one worthy to receive and forever wear that victorious wreath which the American people have entwined to decorate and adorn your brow; and we can not omit, upon this occasion, to bear our testimony to the valor, bravery, and skill displayed by that noble band of our adopted fellow-citizens, who, side by side with the natives of our soil, stood bravely by the common standard of our country, or fell nobly struggling in its defense. Peace be to the ashes of those who thus sacrificed their lives, for they died as brave men love to die—fighting the battles of their country, and expiring in the very arms of victory."

Scott's reply was felicitous and full of feeling. He said, among other things:

"If I had looked to considerations merely personal, I should have declined the high distinction tendered me; but I knew I was to be received by you as the representative of that victorious army it was so lately my good fortune to command—an army that has carried the glory of American arms to a height that has won universal admiration, and the gratitude of all hearts at home.

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"A very large portion of the rank and file of that army, regulars and volunteers, went forth from the city of New York, to conquer or to die. It was my happy lot to witness their invincible valor and prowess. All dangers, difficulties and hardships were met and conquered.

"You have been pleased, sir, to allude to our adopted citizens. I can say that the Irish, the Germans, the Swiss, the French, the Britons, and other adopted citizens, fought in the same ranks, under the same colors, side by side with the native-born Americans—exhibiting like courage and efficiency, and uniting at every victory in the same enthusiastic shouts in honor of our flag and country. From Vera Cruz to the capital of Mexico, there was one generous rivalry in heroic daring and brilliant achievement. Let those who witnessed that career of valor and patriotism say, if they can, what race, according to numbers, contributed most to the general success and glory of the campaign. On the many hard-fought battle-fields there was no room for invidious distinction. All proved themselves the faithful sons of our beloved country, and no spectator could fail to dismiss any lingering prejudice he might have entertained as to the comparative merits of Americans by birth and Americans by adoption."

"As the honored representative of all, I return among you to bear testimony in favor of my fellow-brothers in the field, the army of Mexico; and I congratulate you and them that the common object of their efforts, and of your hopes—the restoration of peace—is in all probability now attained."

When he arrived at the City Hall other addresses were made. Scott, in his replies, took occasion to advert to the subjects of peace and war, as relating to his own profession. The sentiments expressed are so honorable to his heart that we may quote them:

"Though I am a soldier, and therefore supposed to be fond of fighting, I abhor war, except when prosecuted in the defense of our country, or for the preservation of its honor, or of some great, important, nay, cardinal interest. I hold war to be a great moral evil. It must be for good and substantial reasons—for no forced or false pretext, however plausibly set forth—that war can be warrantably waged, or that can justify one man in shedding the blood of his fellow-being. The interests of New York, and of our whole country, are identified with peace and with every duty of Christian morality. I doubt if there be any member of that respectable body of our fellow-citizens, the Friends, who is a more zealous advocate for peace. Unhappily, too much of my life has been spent on the field of battle. Let us, then, maintain our peace by all honorable

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efforts—by such efforts as Washington, the Father of our Country, made, to establish and preserve a system of equal and impartial neutrality—a system which some of his most distinguished successors, even to a recent period, have commended, with the entire approbation of the American people. And now, Mr. Chairman, in offering again my thanks to your Common Council, and to the inhabitants of your city, which have made an old soldier's heart to throb with gratitude, and caused him to forget all his toils, all his hardships, all his suffering of mind and body, I desire to acknowledge to yourself especially, and to the gentlemen of both Boards who compose your Committee, the obligations you have imposed upon me by your kind and gracious attentions. Thanks, my warmest thanks, I return through you to the inhabitants of this city."

A grand review of troops took place—Major-General Sandford acting as commander. All the best regiments of the city turned out. The civic procession up Broadway comprised an ex-President—the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the State—several United States Senators and Members of the House—State Senators and Assemblymen—officers of the army and navy—the Mayor and Common Council, etc., etc., together with an immense concourse of the leading men of the community.

It was such an ovation as few men ever received, but one eminently due. It did not fail to warn the Administration of the *set* of the current of popular feeling—which few political partisans dare to oppose. The occasion was embraced by the City Council to present the General with a silver medal, specially struck in commemoration of the great victories in Mexico.

Previous to this (March, 1848) Congress passed its celebrated complimentary resolves, the second resolution of which reads:

"That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested to cause to be struck a gold medal with devices emblematical of the series of brilliant victories achieved by the army, and presented to Major-General Winfield Scott, as a testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of his valor, skill and judicious conduct in the memorable campaign of 1847."

A very pleasing "request" to make of the President!

Several States passed complimentary resolves, which, beautifully engrossed, are now deposited in the cabinet of treasures to be left as mementoes of the consideration of his

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countrymen. The Legislature of Louisiana voted a sword, which was presented in Washington, in July, 1848, by a committee chosen by the Governor of that State. A very expressive and patriotic letter from the Governor (Johnson) accompanied the gift. Many public societies and associations throughout the country voted addresses, of which, for a long time after his return, the General was the recipient. They were not less gratifying than the official resolves of legislatures.

CHAPTER XX.

FOUNDS ARMY ASYLUMS—IS NOMINATED BY THE WHIG NATIONAL STATE CONVENTION AS ITS CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY—THE CAMPAIGN'S RESULT—IS MADE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL—GOES TO VANCOUVER'S ISLAND TO SETTLE THE BOUNDARY DIFFICULTY—HIS POSITION IN THE SECESSION REVOLUTION—THE COUNTRY'S HOPE.

THE Executive was powerless before such enthusiasm as the people and press of the country, generally, betrayed after Scott's return. It wisely allowed its "inquiry" to go silently by default; but, it was a long time before the War Department could consent to summon the General to duty at Washington. He remained at his old head-quarters in New York city, for some time after his return, issuing all his orders from it, instead of from Washington. He was, at length, called to the head of the Army Bureau at the capital, and immediately repaired thither, to give the Department his special oversight—an oversight which it greatly needed.

Nothing occurred to break the usual routine of business until the session of Congress for 1850-51, when an act was passed to found Military Asylums. This was of Scott's conception, and the bill creating the Asylums, embodied his long-cherished plans. When in Mexico he saw the great need of such institutions at home, to which he might send the invalid and disabled soldier. To create such a benevolent refuge for those worn out in the service of the country he appropriated one hundred thousand dollars, specially saved in Mexico to the military chest. That amount was placed in the Bank of America, New York city, to the credit of *Army Asylum*, by

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draft from Mexico in January, 1848. Other sums were also added to the fund from the same source, as occasion would permit. But no Army Asylums were in existence, and not until Scott brought the matter specially before Congress, at two successive sessions, did he succeed in securing the necessary act. It was passed, finally, by the General's wise intercession, as we have stated, and he was made President of the Board chosen to select the sites for the several buildings ordered.

In the discharge of this duty he journeyed over the Middle and Western States, in the summer of 1851. The presence of the old hero gave occasion for hearty outbursts of enthusiasm along his routes of travel. Everywhere he was received with the utmost cordiality by all classes:—even those who had been influenced against him, as party servants of a powerful press devoted to the work of the Adminstration, did not fail to forget their *politics* in the presence of the war-worn servant of his country. In almost every village and town volunteers of the Mexican campaign came forth to greet their Commander-in-Chief, and many were the pleasant reunions which transpired.

The several Asylums were located with great good judgment. They will stand as not among the least monuments of his wisdom and humanity.

In January of this year (1851) the State of Virginia presented a very massive and elegantly wrought medal, inscribed: "The Commonwealth of Virginia presents this medal to Major-General Winfield Scott as a memorial of her admiration for the great and distinguished services of her son, while Commander-in-Chief of the American armies in the war with Mexico, 1847." The presentation was made in Washington, by a committee specially appointed by the Governor. It was a noble expression of the esteem with which Virginia regarded "her son."*

The popularity of General Scott rendered it evident that, if his consent could be obtained his name would come before

* How ought that State to blush for shame that some of its press, under the "Secession" excitement, has descended to the most foul imprecation of Scott for his adherence to the flag under which he has served for more than half a century! We have preserved some of those editorial ebullitions as a sad evidence of the caprices and want in dignity of American journalism. Their reproduction will serve to amaze another generation.

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the Whig National Convention as a nominee for the Presidency. Being interrogated by his friends on the subject, he consented to accept the nomination if, in the opinion of the Convention, he should prove the most available candidate. He was nominated and became the standard-bearer of the Whig party, in the canvass of 1852.

The campaign which followed was marked by unusual bitterness and personal virulence. It is not too much to say that the country never has seen a canvass conducted with less regard to courtesy and dignity. Scott was made the embodiment of tyranny and aristocracy—the very virtues which led his columns on to glory in Mexico were pronounced vices—his incapacity for the high office was proclaimed—all by an opposition whose standard-bearer was one of those soldiers who had won his chief title to consideration by a brief service under Scott, in Mexico! "The masses" were readily deceived: the Whig policy became, in their minds, identified with aristocracy and monoply: a protective tariff grew daily unpopular and the impossible sub-treasury became popular. Henry Clay died in June, Webster in October, and the party thus lost its two most powerful directors. Scott, himself no politician, was badly led by his advisers and took several steps which good *political* generalship must have forbidden:—all these contributed to his defeat. Franklin Pierce was elected by a handsome majority. "It was," as Scott afterward humorously observed, "his first *real* defeat—he was routed horse, foot, and howitzers."

This defeat illustrates the singular fact, that eminence of service, in no small degree, disqualifies a man for success in a popular election. Henry Clay and Webster were neither of them President because they had done *too much* — Messrs. Polk and Pierce were Presidents because they had done so very little! It is easier to elect an unknown man to the high office than one well known.

Congress, at its first session after the election of Mr. Pierce, acted upon the scheme hatched in Mr. Polk's Cabinet by creating a Lieutenant-General, and Scott was made the recipient of the high honor. The intelligence of the country applauded, for there was no other way in which to signify its recognition of his merits. The sum of twenty-five

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thousand dollars was also voted as "back pay," the office to date from the conquest of Mexico. A General whose victorious arms and ministerial sagacity gave us California and New Mexico, merited all the new office could bring of honors or money.

Since the year 1852 the General has continued in the exercise of his duties as acting head of the army—scarcely intermitting a day, in the performance of his labors. His headquarters, in New York city, is a model of system. From thence *radiate* the orders which move the whole vast machinery of our land military system. The only absence worthy of note occurred in the summer of 1859 when the seizure, by General Harney, of an island in Puget's Sound (Straits of Fuca) reopened the old dispute of the boundary line between this country and Great Britain. Harney found the British in occupancy of territory which he considered on the American side of the line, and, with more spirit than discretion, drove them from it, while he planted his troops on the spot to keep the British Governor, Douglas, at bay. This action threatened trouble quite as serious as the Maine boundary *emeute*, when Scott acted as pacificator. He was again appealed to by his Government, and, notwithstanding his great age, was sent to that distant region to quiet the alarm and to reconcile the dispute. He went and successfully settled the trouble. The "plucky" General Harney was transferred to another station. Everywhere on the route, the Commander-in-Chief was welcomed with expressions of regard by the people. His reception in San Francisco was highly creditable to the patriotism and gratitude of the Californians, who, with much truth, regard him as the father of *their* country.

At the first evidence of an uprising of the people in the cotton growing States, against the authority of the Federal Union, Scott was at his post, ready, as in 1832 to enforce the Constitution and the Laws. His experiences during the former suppression of Nullification and revolt in Charleston harbor, rendered him the man for the hour. It is but expressing the generally received opinion, to say, that, had his wise counsels prevailed, our beloved country never would have been shaken to its very center by the throes of revolution, nor the appalling calamity of a dismemberment of the Union have

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been imminent. Mr. Buchanan was not General Jackson. Eminent in many things he lacked constancy and courage—two qualities which, in times of danger, are of more avail than a thousand other virtues. He tampered with what was plain, palpable treason. He vacillated when to do so was crime under his inauguratory oath. He allowed his closet to be invaded by disunionists—his treasury to be robbed, his arsenals and armories to be plundered—his flag to be dishonored—his country's *prestige* to be abased. Where Scott, like Jackson, would have armed for successful resistance—would have gibbeted for example — would have invaded for peace — Mr. Buchanan folded his hands and counted the hours for his term of office to expire when he should be rid both of his oath and his responsibilities. The true men of the country stood aghast at the President's unfitness for the crisis, for all saw that, ere his term expired, the revolutionists would succeed in plunging not one, but five or more States into the wild vortex of their mad schemes.

Amid all this excitement and painful display of weakness on the part of the President, Scott stood firm, ever ready to act as a true citizen and soldier. The country looked to him in hope, feeling that all would be safe in his hands. The army began to disintegrate—its officers to "resign" and take up arms against their old flag—the forts and arsenals were given up, one after another—the Major-General commanding in the Department of Texas, with infamous betrayal of trust and unparalleled effrontery, *contracted* to deliver his garrisons, arms and *loyal men* to those who, as the consideration for the *transfer*, gave the promise that all those arms, garrisons and, if possible, the men, should be turned against the country which had given him all the honor, means and position he possessed. But, not all these things served to dismay the patriotic men of the East, North and West so long as Winfield Scott was true to his oath and his flag.

He is true! His faith is the faith of our fathers—his devotion is that of our fathers—his constancy is that of our fathers. May he be spared to see his insulted flag planted over every fortress, every Government building, every highway from the Potomac to the Rio Grande!

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